

BULLETIN
OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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THE LIBRARIAN

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 7

JULY, 1922

No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

IN the present issue we print the first instalment of the promised hand-list of the Cheshire manuscripts of Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., which, as already announced, have been deposited in the library on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students.

THE MAIN-
WARING
CHARTERS.

The charters, many of which date back to the time of Edward III., have been the first to receive attention. These will be followed from time to time by brief descriptions or lists of the diaries, household books, literary papers, and other deeds and evidences relating to the Mainwaring family and estates, which cannot fail to be of interest to students of the history of the period to which they belong.

The charters themselves have been arranged chronologically, but for the purposes of the hand-list it was thought that it would be more useful to students if the entries were arranged alphabetically under the names of the places to which they refer. Any student wishing to know what deeds there are relating to a particular period rather than to a particular place may readily obtain the information by having recourse, in the library, to the deeds themselves.

Following upon the offer, which we made in our last issue, to undertake the safe custody of any other manuscripts relating to the Northern parts of England, or in the possession of families connected with that area, which for a variety of reasons the owners might be desirous of placing in safe keeping, where they will be cared for and made readily accessible for reference, Colonel and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell, of Taxal, Whaley Bridge, have deposited in the library for safe custody, for an indefinite period, their interesting collection of manuscripts relating to the Jodrell family and their estates. The Jodrells have been seated in Cheshire, certainly since 1351, for the earliest recorded reference to a member of

THE JOD-
RELL
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

the family relates to William Jodrell who held lands in the forest of Macclesfield in that year.

These deeds, like those of the Mainwarings, throw a flood of light upon the social and economic history of the county and period to which they refer.

One document in the collection, which has been retained at Taxal, and of which we print a facsimile reproduction, is of such exceptional interest as to call for special treatment. This has been accorded to it in the present issue in the form of an article from the pen of Mrs. Sharp, the daughter of Professor T. F. Tout, who has made a study of the period to which the document belongs.

PASS
GRANTED
BY ED.
WARD THE
BLACK
PRINCE.

The document consists of a pass or licence granted by Edward the Black Prince to the William Jodrell already referred to—an archer in the service of the Prince, who accompanied him to France to take part in the famous Languedoc raid in 1355—giving him permission to leave the army and to return to England.

The pass appears to be the only one of the kind which has survived. It is interesting, also, by reason of the fact that it is written on paper, which was not used to any extent at that period, and also that it bears the original seal, although, unfortunately, very much defaced.

Mrs. Sharp has written around the pass a most interesting dissertation on the Seals of the Black Prince, which is illustrated with reproductions of three other examples.

We take this opportunity of renewing the offer, made in the two preceding issues of the "Bulletin," to undertake the custody of any similar collections, or even smaller groups of documents, relating to the Northern parts of England, with a view not only of providing for their careful preservation, but also of rendering them available for ready reference and study.

OFFER TO
ACCEPT
CUSTODY
OF LOCAL
MSS.

There are in the hands of Lords of Manors, Family Solicitors, and others, quantities of court rolls, deeds, marriage settlements, indentures and similar documents, now of little or no use for legal purposes, which are in great danger of destruction or dispersal.

These documents form part of the necessary material for the history of the country, and are invaluable to students of our local customs and institutions, as well as to the ever increasing numbers of scholars engaged in this description of historical investigation.

We have pleasure in printing in the present issue the first of three or four articles on the manuscripts of the Apocalypse, which Mr. Herman C. Hoskier, of New York, and New Jersey, has kindly undertaken to contribute.

MANU-
SCRIPTS
OF THE
APOCA-
LYPSE.

Students of the original text of the New Testament, to whom Mr. Hoskier's name and exact scholarship are well known, will welcome the news that for some time he has been engaged in collating all existing Greek manuscripts of the Apocalypse. As a result certain interesting facts have been dislodged from the mass, some of which have been exhibited in the present article, with the object of inviting comment before they are finally tabulated for publication in book form.

Never before has so comprehensive an examination of any book of the New Testament been undertaken, and Mr. Hoskier explains that his reason for selecting the Apocalypse, was simply because it was possible for an individual to handle the matter within his lifetime, as the supply of known manuscripts was sufficiently small to make this feasible.

We shall be glad to receive for transmission to Mr. Hoskier any communications that readers may wish to make upon the subject of the article.

In the course of the examination and description of the library's collection of manuscripts, which now number upwards of 10,000 examples either in codex, roll or tablet form, many of them have been invested with a new importance by reason of the exceptional palæographical or textual interest which they have been found to possess.

AN UNRE-
CORDED
APOLOGY
OF ISLAM.

One of the most striking of the recent discoveries was made by Dr. Mingana in the course of his examination of the Arabic collection. It is a manuscript of modest appearance and dimensions, the provenance of which it is now impossible to determine, since there is no record of when and how it came into the possession of the late Earl of Crawford, from whom it was acquired with other manuscripts in 1902.

It consists of an unrecorded "Apology of Islam" by a learned Muhammadan physician and moralist named 'Ali b. Rabbān Ṭabari, who died about A.D. 864, the importance of which may be gleaned from the following notes.

The ninth century of the Christian era is marked by numerous apologetic works by Christians and Muhammadans, who lived not far

from Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbaside dynasty of the Eastern Caliphate. The names of Abu Nūh, Timothy the Patriarch, and Ishāq al-Kindi, among Christian apologists, are known to all interested in oriental learning. In particular the "Apology of the Christian Faith" by Al-Kindi can hardly be ignored by any educated Muslim, or by any educated Christian living with Muslims. But, as far as we are aware, hitherto, no such apology of Islam of so early a date and of such outstanding importance, by a Muhammadan, has been known to exist.

The MS. containing the present apology which was written at Baghdad at the request of the Caliph al-Muttawakkil (847-861), is dated A.H. 616 (= A.D. 1219). It is of first rate importance not only to the Muslim, but to every oriental scholar, whilst to theological scholars it cannot fail to be of interest.

It follows the apology of Al-Kindi, which the author may have intended to refute. The work contains one hundred and thirty long quotations from the Bible, the object of which is to prove the divine mission of the Arabian prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac version of the Bible, said, in the manuscript, to have been translated by an unknown author called "Marcus the Interpreter". The Syriac word *Mshabbha*, "the Glorious," wherever occurring in the Old Testament, is translated into Arabic by the word *Muhammad*. It is possible, therefore, that the Prophet having heard this word pronounced, wrote (S. VII. 156, etc.) that his name was found in the Sacred Books of the Christians and the Jews. The manuscript is a transcript of the autograph of Ṭabari himself, and is certainly the most seriously written book on the apologetic theme existing in our days.

At the request of the Governors Dr. Mingana at once prepared the original text and an English translation for the press, in readiness for the time when conditions in the printing trade should be more favourable to publication. Although, as yet, there has been no substantial reduction in the cost of book-production, the Governors, yielding to the persistent enquiries for the work since its discovery was announced, have decided to publish the English translation with as little further delay as possible. The manuscript is now in the printer's hands, and it is hoped that the volume will be ready for publication before the close of the year.

It will form a demy octavo volume of about 220 pages, the price of which has been fixed at half-a-guinea net.

Orders for copies may be sent to the Librarian, or to the Library's regular agents: the Manchester University Press; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.; and Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Limited.

In case the announcement which appeared in the last issue, of the publication of the first two volumes of the "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library" may have escaped the notice of some of our readers, we take this opportunity of repeating the information.

LATIN
MANU-
SCRIPTS IN
THE J.R.L.

The first volume contains the descriptive text, whilst the second volume comprises nearly two hundred facsimile reproductions in colotype, of characteristic pages of text, illuminations, and jewelled bindings, selected from the manuscripts (numbering 183) with which the Catalogue deals, and including examples of first class quality of the art of the great mediæval writing schools of Europe, ranging from the sixth to the sixteenth century, and covering a wide range of subjects.

The work has been executed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The two volumes, which are royal quarto in size, and bound in cloth, are published at four guineas, net, a price which is much below cost.

Copies may be obtained from the Library's regular agents.

The reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain has been advanced yet another stage by the placing of the contract for the construction of the new building with the Foundation Company of New York. The work, which is to cost about one million dollars, is to begin at once.

REBUILD-
ING OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

In order to complete the fund required for the purpose seven hundred American colleges and universities united in April in what is described as a week's drive.

The previous campaign yielded \$165,000, and in an appeal to the American people signed by Dr. Murray Butler, of Columbia University, and his associates on the executive committee, the nation is reminded of its duty to redeem its promise to provide the building for the new library. We wish them success.

Since the publication of our last report in January we have received 4,240 volumes for transmission to Louvain. These have been catalogued, registered, and packed in readiness for shipment, which we hope to effect in the course of the next few weeks, as soon, indeed, as other promised contributions have reached us.

RECENT
DONA-
TIONS TO
LOUVAIN.

The total number of volumes received and dealt with to date, on behalf of the English Committee, amounts to 42,240.

We take this opportunity for again thanking the following contributors for so continuously and generously responding to our appeals.

(The figures in brackets represent the number of volumes.)

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THE PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN GENTLEMAN, FROM LIVY.¹

BY R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

SOME four years ago, while I was still engaged upon the text of Livy's First Decade, I ventured to submit to this kind audience examples of his power of portraying character. I was then concerned to point out his kinship of spirit with the great Italian painters like Titian and Giorgione who sprang from his own Venetic stock. This kinship was especially clear in the warmth of his imagination and in his lively sympathy with the persons who appear in his story. Now the leading characters of the early Books of Livy give us, as they were meant to do, an embodiment of some of the most typical Roman virtues, perpetuated, and consecrated, in a series of famous stories, set, as Livy writes in his preface, each 'in some shining example.' For many of these stories in the form in which they were current in Livy's day, for example that of Coriolanus, the historical evidence then available was in many ways unworthy of trust. But the central situation and the behaviour of the chief characters as, for example, the yielding of Coriolanus to his mother's entreaties, are in every instance so typically Roman that even if all the names and all the dates were false, which is by no means the case, the stories themselves would still be ideally true and therefore of historical value, a point nobly illustrated by the late Dr. Warde Fowler, in his last published essay on the power of the Roman imagination.²

But when we pass, as I have done in the last two or three years, to Livy's Third Decade which records the great Punic War from 219 to 201 B.C., we are well within the historical period. What difficulties there are now in our study arise not from the dearth but from the

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 11 January, 1922.

² *Cl. Assoc. Proceedings*, Vol. XVII, Newcastle, 1920.

multitude of authorities ; and in many details Livy, as he frankly points out, has not reached certainty in his efforts to disentangle conflicting accounts and to analyse what we may call the authorised version of well-known events. But in one thing he was always and everywhere keenly interested, in men and women ; and I believe it is true to say that he spared no pains at all in forming and expressing with delicate precision a judgement on all the conspicuous persons in Roman history. We can of course only speak of the periods on which his work has survived ; that we do not possess his studies of Caesar, Pompey, Cicero, and the Gracchi is one of the calamities of literature. But in following the main lines of the story of the third century B.C. we are on firm ground, and without anxiety about the substance we are free to study the constructive imagination with which Livy has made his characters live and move in a series of dramatic scenes.

The insight and care with which he handled this part of his work, we may estimate not unfairly by studying his delineation of a single personality. Take the figure which, in fact, occupies far the largest space given to any character in the thirty-five Books which have survived, appearing in no less than fourteen of them, and being the central topic through at least one, the twenty-eighth. I mean the personality of Publius Scipio Africanus, the only Roman general who was a match for Hannibal, and the man who brought the whole eighteen years of war to an end by conquering Spain, invading Africa and at last defeating Hannibal at Zama in 202 B.C. It is a figure quite central in the history of the Roman Republic, and of this Livy was fully conscious. Scipio's strength and Scipio's weaknesses such as they were, embodied the strength and the weaknesses of the Republic itself. In them culminated its triumph ; in them lay the seeds of its decay. Such, at least, is Livy's plain verdict ; but it is a verdict which, I venture to say, might have been hard for us to reach without his critical study. From the Greek historian Polybius, whose life long touched that of the Scipionic circle, and whom, so far as he went, Livy most carefully and frankly followed, we should derive a conception of Scipio's character, which, though it is nowhere inconsistent with Livy's picture, is yet in details so far less critical as to be incomplete and almost unconvincing ; a conception so uniformly superhuman, so wanting in light and shade, as to leave us to wonder why such a man ever had any enemies.

Let us review some of the more striking scenes in Scipio's life. As we proceed we shall note a few points of difference between the record of Livy and that of Polybius.

Recall first the situation when Scipio received his first commission in 211 B.C. His father and his father's brother had both been defeated and killed in Spain; the Romans had been driven North of the Ebro and their whole authority in the country endangered. In Italy, after his great victories at Trebia, Trasimene and Cannae, Hannibal had moved almost where he would; and in the previous year had pitched his camp three miles from the walls of Rome and had ridden up to the Colline Gate. He did not venture however even then to attack the city itself; and he had still failed to relieve Capua, which with its Carthaginian garrison the Romans had just taken at the end of a year's siege.

But Spain was the real key of the struggle. In Spain Hannibal had trained his army and from Spain he expected reinforcement. The Senate for once shrank from the responsibility of appointing a commander, and set a dangerous precedent by referring the appointment to the popular assembly. The popular vote unanimously chose Scipio, though he was a young man of twenty-four who had held no military office whatever, though he had served in one campaign with his father.

Consider first the account of his character which Polybius¹ gives at the outset; I quote from Shuckburgh's excellent version.

Now it seems to me that in his character and views Publius was very like Lycurgus. For we must not suppose that it was from superstition that Lycurgus continually consulted the Pythian priestess in establishing the Lacedaemonian constitution; nor that Scipio depended on dreams and ominous words for his success. But as both saw that the majority of mankind cannot be got to accept contentedly what is new and strange, nor to face dangers with courage, without some hope of divine favour—Lycurgus, by always supporting his own schemes with an oracular response from the Pythia, secured better acceptance for his ideas; and Scipio, by always instilling into the minds of the vulgar an opinion of his acting on some divine suggestion, caused those under his command to confront danger with greater courage. But that he invariably acted on calculation and with foresight, and that the successful issue of his plans was always in harmony with rational expectation, will be evident.

¹ X., cc. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

One typical example of this we may note in passing. By a study of the tides Scipio had ascertained that on a given day and hour a lagoon by which New Carthage was on one side defended, would be merely shallow water. Hence by an assault made through this lagoon he was able to take the city by a surprise. But he had led his army to believe that Neptune was giving them miraculous assistance.¹ Now come back to Polybius.

That Scipio was beneficent and high-minded is acknowledged ; but that he was acute, sober-minded and earnest in pursuit of his aims, no one will admit, except those who have lived with him and contemplated his character, so to speak, in broad day-light. Of such Gaius Laelius was one. He took part in everything Scipio did or said from boyhood to the day of his death ; and it was he who convinced me of this.

Once when his elder brother Lucius was a candidate for the Aedileship his mother was going round to the temples and sacrificing on behalf of that brother. His father was then on his voyage to Spain. Publius Scipio therefore said to his mother that he had had a dream and seen the same vision twice : namely that he was coming home from the Forum after being elected Aedile with his brother, and that she met them at the door and threw her arms round them and kissed them. His mother with womanly feeling exclaimed, " Oh that I might see that day ! " He replied, " Would you like us to try ? " Upon her assenting, under the idea that he would not venture, but was only jesting on the spur of the moment (for of course he was quite a young man) he begged her to prepare him² at once a white toga, such as it is the custom for candidates for office to wear.

His mother did so, and thought no more about it : but Publius, having obtained the white toga, went to the Forum before his mother was awake . . . [and was elected Aedile]. . . . The news having been suddenly brought to their mother, she rushed in the utmost delight to meet and salute them at the door. Accordingly Publius was believed by all who had heard previously about his dream to have held commune with the gods. But in point of fact there was no dream at all : Scipio was kind, open-handed, and courteous, and by these means had conciliated the favour of the multitude. But by a dexterous use of the occasion, both with the people and with his mother, he obtained his purpose, and moreover got the reputation of acting under divine inspiration.

¹ Livy, 26, 45, 9.

² From this it may be gathered that a Roman noble was even more dependent upon his womankind for a correct attire than any British householder of to-day.

Modern students of psychology, who have learnt that our dreams are regularly connected with our desires, may not think it necessary to assume as calmly as Polybius does, that Scipio merely invented the whole story.

Now there is little in this sketch which Livy does not confirm, but there are some sides or aspects of the character on which Polybius is quite silent that are brought out by Livy's more critical and sympathetic insight—an insight which was sharpened by a knowledge of the political history of Rome after Polybius' time.

Hear now Livy's much shorter characterisation, and note the questions which he raises, but leaves open for his readers to judge.

Scipio was undoubtedly the possessor of striking gifts: but besides this he had from childhood studied the art of their effective display. Whether there was some vein of superstition in his own temperament or whether it was with the aim of securing for his commands the authority of inspired utterances, he rarely spoke in public without pretending to some nocturnal vision or supernatural suggestion. In order to impress public opinion in this direction, he had made a practice from the day he reached manhood of never engaging in any business, public or private, without first paying a visit to the Capitol. There he would enter the sanctuary, and pass some time, generally in solitude and seclusion. This habit from which he never deviated, made converts in some circles to a belief, to which accident or design had given wide currency, that his origin was other than human. There was a story once widely believed about Alexander the Great, that his male parent had been a huge serpent, often seen in his mother's chamber but vanishing directly men appeared. This miracle was told again of Scipio with the same picturesque absurdity, but he himself never cast ridicule upon it; indeed he rather lent it countenance by the course which he adopted of neither wholly disclaiming such tales nor openly asserting their truth.

Now observe that in this account, brief as it is, Livy gives room for the possibility of some sincere piety on Scipio's part, and it seems indeed doubtful whether his habit of daily visits to the Capitol could have been maintained for so long without it. And this is strongly confirmed by his action in the Syrian War 190 B.C.—an action by which he had nothing to gain, and by which he and his brother had very much to lose,—in keeping the army waiting at the Hellespont for many days until the last day of March because he was a Salian Priest and bound by rule to stop where he was until the month was ended.¹

¹ Livy, 37, 33, 7.

We see then that on the one hand, Livy allows for some degree of genuine religious belief in Scipio's mind ; but on the other hand, that he cannot take the entirely cheerful view that Polybius does, of the element of fraud in Scipio's use of religion. Neither can he conceal a characteristic in Scipio which it is difficult to name, but which we may perhaps call his Super-self-confidence, his extraordinary personal exaltation. Following Livy, Aulus Gellius expresses it in a happy phrase—*conscientia sui subnixus*—‘lifted high on his consciousness of himself.’ Let us take only two examples—the first from a speech¹ in the Senate in 205 B.C. Here is the conclusion of his answer to Fabius Cunctator, who had spoken at length making much of his own part in the war, and little of Scipio's. The rendering is mainly Philemon Holland's.

‘It shall content and suffice me to have thus far spoken about the public interest and the war presently in hand ; and concerning the provinces, now in question. But it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same irrelevant altogether unto you, if, as Q. Fabius hath set himself to make light of my work in Spain, so I likewise should diminish and make a mock of his glory, but set out myself and mine own reputation with magnificent words. My lords of the Senate, I will do neither the one nor the other. And if in nothing else, yet at least, young man as I am, in modesty and government of my tongue, I will go beyond him, old as he is. Thus have I lived and thus have I carried myself in mine actions, that without speech I can easily content myself with that opinion which you of yourselves may have conceived and entertain of me.’

Scipio is too modest to praise himself ; yet he pats himself on the back for being more modest than Fabius ; and suggests gently that, after all, to praise what he, Scipio, had done, would be quite superfluous.

The second example is from his answer to the envoys of King Antiochus in the Syrian War in 190 B.C. Antiochus had sent them with a great sum of money and the offer to liberate Scipio's son whom he had captured, if he, Scipio, would influence the Roman general to make a favourable peace.² This is the speech according to Livy (37, 36).

¹ Livy, 28, 44, 16.

² The account in Polyb. (21, 12) is much the same, but quite without the personal touch ; in Polybius' account Scipio lays no stress on the difference between private and public action.

‘That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor myself in particular unto whom you were sent, I less marvel, when I see that you are altogether ignorant of the state of the fortunes of him who hath sent you hither . . . for whom nothing now remains but to submit to whatever we ordain. For myself as concerning my son, I will accept it as a great present, beseeeming the munificence of a king, should he send him to me again; but of his other present, while I pray heaven that my estate may never have need of such gifts, my mind for certain never will. And for the great offer the king maketh unto me, of my son, he shall find me thankful unto him, if it please him, for this private benefit unto me done, to require at my hands a private favour again; but as touching the public weal, he shall pardon me, that I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all I can bestow on him at this present is to give him good and faithful counsel. Go your ways, and tell him from me, to abstain from war, and not to refuse any condition of peace whatsoever.’

Of this exaltation in Polybius’ picture the traces are comparatively few, though it was undoubtedly this more than anything else that roused the bitter animosity from which Scipio suffered in his later years. On the other hand, Livy’s picture of the man is in some ways much more attractive; he allows room, first, as we have seen, for some actual piety in Scipio’s own mind, which redeems him from the merely brutal insincerity which Polybius assumes as a matter of course. But secondly Livy recognises the delicate and sympathetic gift with which Scipio penetrates to the real feelings of the people with whom he dealt, a gift which was the secret of his extraordinary diplomatic success. This characteristic I should like briefly to illustrate from one or two of his speeches and acts.

I would commend it in passing as an interesting literary and historical exercise (for, say any Classical Sixth Form) to note the differences between the parallel versions of the speeches given by Polybius and Livy respectively. Two of the speeches are especially characteristic—that to the mutineers at Sucro, and that to Hannibal in the interview before the battle of Zama.

The mutiny at Sucro in 206 B.C. was one of the most dangerous points in Scipio’s career, as it threatened the Roman supremacy in Spain at a moment when it seemed finally assured. Scipio had been ill, the Roman government had been dilatory with the soldiers’ pay, and the soldiers had actually chosen certain obscure persons rejoicing in the names of Atrius and Albius to replace their generals. Scipio

handled the dangerous situation in a masterly way, securing all the ringleaders beforehand, and deluding the mutineers into thinking that all his loyal troops had been dispatched far away from the town. Of the speech which he made to them when they, mainly unarmed, and without their leaders, surrounded his tribunal and were themselves surrounded by loyal troops, Polybius and Livy give reports which in substance are identical, but in style so different that they could hardly be thought the utterance of the same man. I greatly doubt whether any mutineer who heard the speech which Polybius gives would have been influenced by any motive but that of fear ; whereas the speech as Livy gives it is an appeal to the warmest personal feelings of the soldiers, their old loyalty to Rome, their sympathy for their general newly recovered from illness, and their gratitude for the forgiveness which he promises. Livy shows us Scipio entering into the feelings of the mutineers with a quite divine comprehension. He even arouses their sense of humour against themselves, a sentiment which teachers know to be a powerful element in penitence, by dwelling on the ill-omened names of their chosen leaders, Atrius and Albius, "Blackie" and "Whitie," a thing which Scipio, like every Roman, was very likely to do with a certain degree of real belief in the omen. The crowning touch of his appeal is where he puts on a level in the same sentence his own sickness of body with their sickness of mind, followed by an impassioned expression of his grief at their unfaithfulness.

One small but significant indication of the difference in the colour of the two accounts deserves mention, because it admits of arithmetical demonstration. The speech in Polybius contains some 520 words, in which pronouns or verbal forms of the first person singular occur 14 times—i.e. once in every 37 words. In Livy the speech occupies about 1025 words, and there are no less than 64 occurrences of *ego*, or *meus* or verbs in the first person singular—i.e. one word in every 16—a frequency more than double.

I wish it were possible here to study the speeches in full ; but perhaps the last paragraph will be enough to give some picture of Scipio's attitude.

Here is the end of the speech given by Polybius (xi. 29).

'I should like then to ask,—what was it in which you trusted ? Surely not in the skill and valour of the leaders whom you have now elected, or in the fasces and axes which were borne in front of them,—men of whom I will

not deign to say even another word. All this, soldiers, is absolutely futile ; nor will you be able to allege even the smallest just complaint against me or your country. Wherefore I will undertake your defence to Rome and myself, by putting forward a plea that all the world will acknowledge to hold good. And it is, that a crowd is ever easily misled and easily induced to any error. Therefore it is that crowds are like the sea, which in its own nature is safe and quiet : but when the winds fall violently upon it, assumes the character of the blasts which lash it into fury, thus a multitude also is ever found to be what its leaders and counsellors are. Acting on this consideration, I and my fellow-officers hereby offer you pardon and amnesty for the past : but to the guilty authors of the mutiny we are resolved to show no mercy, but to punish them as their misconduct to their country and to ourselves deserves.'

Here is Livy's version of the same (28, 29, 2-8).

'But what grief of heart, what fit of anger hath incited and provoked you? Grant that your wages was paid later by a few days, whilst your General lay sick ; was that a sufficient cause for you to proclaim open war against your country? Was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of Rome, and turn to the Illyrgetes, and to spare no law of God and man, and make shipwreck of conscience and common honesty? Surely, soldiers, you were distraught and out of your wits. I was not myself prostrated by a more powerful sickness in my body, than ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think or say what folk believed, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten, if it be possible : if not, let us not speak of it, howsoever we do, but cover it up in silence. I cannot deny that my words have seemed harsh and bitter unto you ; but how much more cruel think ye, are your deeds? And if ye deem it reasonable that I should bear the things that ye have done, can ye not abide even to hear them all recounted? But even these matters shall be no more laid against you from henceforth. Would God ye could as soon forget them, as I will. And therefore as touching you all in general, if ye repent for your folly, I shall be content, and think you punished to the full. But as for Albius Calenus and Atrius UMBER, with the rest of the authors of this detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their transgression, with their life's blood. The spectacle of their punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous, but rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye be come again to your right mind. For their intent did no more cruel hurt and mischief to any man than to yourselves.'

Of the speech to Hannibal, the two records are even closer, so that the variations can be pointed out with precision, and yet between

them there is a world of difference. The whole way through, in Polybius' account, Scipio reasons with Hannibal as with an equal. In Livy, he talks to him as Jehovah might have done to the defeated Satan in *Paradise Lost*. Take two phrases as typical of the difference. In referring to Hannibal's reluctant departure from Italy, according to Polybius, Scipio only said, "You left Italy unwillingly." But in Livy he said (to use Holland's version which is not at all too vigorous), "I have haled and drawn you into Africa by strong arm, all the shuffling and resistance you could make to the contrary notwithstanding" (*prope manu conserta restitantes ac tergiversantes in Africam attraxerim*). And while at the end Polybius briefly states one of the alternatives before Hannibal in the words, 'Or you must conquer us in a battle' (ἢ μαχομένους νικᾶν), the speech in Livy ends with seven words every one of which has a sting.

'Bellum parate quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.'

bellum: not *proelium*; the Carthaginians must 'prepare for war,' begin the war over again, when it has already lasted seventeen years.

parate: in the plural, not *para*. Hannibal is addressed as only one of the Carthaginians.

quoniam: the situation is the direct result of the Carthaginians' breach of faith.

pacem: not merely *indutias*; a solemn bargain to which the Carthaginians have sworn and proved faithless.

pati, not *servare*: they must endure it, not merely accept it, or keep it, but suffer it, as their doom.

non potuistis, not *noluistis*: their faithlessness is a sign not of strength, not of deliberate choice, but of mere weakness, and an omen of the impotence to which they will be reduced when all is over.

Well, you say, Livy was more of an orator than Polybius. He was, he was indeed, because he understood the strength of human passion, and had the courage and the power to portray it.

The rich humanity which is part of Livy's conception of Scipio is even more striking in one or two incidents which Polybius thought not worth notice, though the events of which they are a part are recorded by him. One of these is the charming speech in which Scipio handed back to the young Spanish Prince Alcibiades his betrothed, who came into Scipio's possession with other Carthaginian hostages when Scipio captured New Carthage. This was quoted in my previous lecture. Let

me end this with two other examples, the first being that of the scene in which Scipio liberates the young prince Massiva (Livy, 27, 19, 8 ; not mentioned by Polybius, x., 39 and 40).

‘ (After the battle of Becula) when the paymaster was selling the African captives according to the General’s commandment, he happened upon a young stripling, of singular beauty : and hearing that he was of blood royal, he sent him to Scipio. And when Scipio demanded of him who he was and what countryman, and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude soldiers ; “ I am ” (saith he) “ a Numidian born and in my country they call me Massiva. Being left an orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grandfather on my mother’s side, Gala, the king of Numidia. And with his son, my Uncle Masinissa, who lately came to aid the Carthaginians, I sailed over into Spain. And never until to-day have I been in any battle, by reason that Masinissa would not in regard of my age, suffer me to go in to the wars. But to-day when the battle was being fought with the Romans, unawares to my Uncle, I secretly got a horse under me, and armour on my back, and went forth into the field ; where my horse chanced to fall, and cast me down headlong : and so I was taken by the Romans.” Scipio gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that were brought before his Tribunal. But after he was come back from thence into his pavilion, he called the boy again before him, and asked him whether he was willing to return again to Masinissa. “ Yea, indeed,” quoth the boy, the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring of gold, a tunic with a broad purple stripe, with a Spanish soldier’s cape, a golden clasp and a horse all ready caparisoned, he sent him away free, and commanded certain horsemen to be his safe-conduct and accompany him so far as he might desire.

The second is the famous story of the fate of Sophonisba, on which Polybius, though he is aware of her existence and her attitude to the Romans, is entirely silent. Let me remind you briefly of the circumstances. The Numidian King Syphax had been persuaded by Hasdrubal (the son of Gisgo) to marry his beautiful daughter, this Sophonisba, and to renounce altogether his friendship with Rome. On Hasdrubal’s advice Syphax had attacked and driven into exile Masinissa, son of Gala, chief of the Maesulii (a Numidian tribe) who afterwards recovered his father’s throne, and joined the Romans. But now Masinissa with Lælius’ help had defeated and captured Syphax—and as he entered Cirta, the seat of Syphax’s kingdom, he was met

and captivated by the fair Sophonisba, who entreated him not to hand her over to the Romans. This Masinissa promised ; and having the true 'Numidian way,' as Livy puts it, of 'falling into love headlong,' in order to secure his promise, he married her forthwith, much to the dismay of the wise Laelius when he came up a few hours later ; Laelius however gave way to Masinissa's entreaties so far as to leave the whole question over for Scipio to settle. Accordingly he sent Syphax in chains to Scipio's camp and after completing his conquest of Numidia returned thither with Masinissa in triumph ; and Scipio had now to deal with the delicate problem of Masinissa and his bride. The captive Syphax, who had once been Scipio's host and friend, now warned him that Sophonisba who had perverted him, her first husband, from his former loyalty to Rome, would be sure to pervert Masinissa in his turn.

It is impossible as we read the story not to feel that in writing it Livy was thinking deeply of certain great events of his own times. Scipio had once refused the title of king on the ground that the title of Emperor given him by his soldiers was a nobler thing ; and in this Livy was certainly thinking of the craving for the shows of Oriental kingship which had been fatal to Julius Caesar, and of the care with which Augustus had put such things behind him.

And so when Livy records how Masinissa was persuaded by Scipio's grave but gentle appeal, to put away the beautiful Carthaginian woman who had captivated him on the day on which he took her captive, we may be certain that the historian was thinking both of Vergil's picture of Dido and of the great historical parallel which dominated Vergil's thought, namely—the story of Cleopatra, the ruin which she brought on Antony, the stern refusal of Augustus even to set eyes upon his captive, and her suicide which followed that refusal.

Now hear Livy's account (30, 14-15).

Therefore Scipio was driven into no small anxiety, and wist not well what to make of it. The marriage had been so huddled up, as it were, in the midst of the operations of war, without the advice of Laelius, without even awaiting his arrival. Such headlong haste had Masinissa made without any advisement, that the very same day that he first set eye upon the enemy queen his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, [and] in the very house of his greatest enemy. Moreover these matters seemed the more shameful, in that Scipio himself, during the time that he had been in

Spain, young as he was, had been never enamoured upon the beauty of any captive woman. As he revolved these things in his mind, Laelius and Masinissa arrived in the camp. And after he had welcomed them both alike, and showed them a gracious countenance, yea and honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a full audience of his staff, he took Masinissa apart, and spoke unto him thus. "I suppose, Masinissa, that you saw in me some good parts, for love whereof both at the first you were induced to come into Spain and contract amity with me; and afterwards also in Africa, you reposed yourself and all your hopes in my fidelity and protection. But of all those virtues, for which I have seemed worthy of your affection, there is not one wherein I have so much gloried, as in the temperance and bridling of carnal pleasures. This virtue, Masinissa, I could wish that you also would have joined unto the rest that are in you so rare and excellent. For our age (trust me truly) stands not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those temptations to pleasure that compass us on every side. And he that by his sober governance hath been able to rule and tame the same, hath won more honour, and gotten a greater victory than we have done by the subduing of Syphax. What valiant exploits and worthy deeds you have achieved in mine absence, I have willingly published, and still remember. But for the rest, I would rather you would consider of them by yourself, than blush if I rehearsed them to you. Through the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of Rome, Syphax is vanquished and taken prisoner. And therefore, himself, his wife, his realm, his lands, his towns, the inhabitants, and in fine whatsoever belonged unto Syphax, are become the booty of the people of Rome. The king himself and the queen his wife, even had she not been born a citizen of Carthage, even had we not seen her father to be the grand captain of our enemies, ought by right to have been sent to Rome, that the Senate and people of Rome might pass their censure, and judgement upon her, who is reported to have alienated a confederate king from us, and to have caused him rashly to take arms against us. Strive then to master your affections; take heed you stain not many good virtues with one fault. Mar not the grace of so many worthy deserts, by one trespass which is far more considerable in itself than is the person that has been the occasion thereof.

30, 15, 3-12. As he heard this Masinissa not merely blushed deeply, but broke into tears; and promising that he would submit to the General's commands but entreating him as far as might be to have regard to the pledge he Masinissa had rashly given, he retired to his tent altogether overcome.

There all by himself, after he had passed some time in many sighs and sobs, as could easily be overheard by them that stood about the tent, at the

last he gave one grievous groan above the rest, and called for one of his trusty grooms, who had under his hand (as the manner was of princes) the keeping of a special poison, against all doubtful chances that might happen. This poison he commanded him to mix in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to Sophonisba, and withall to tell her thus much from him. That Masinissa would have been most willing to perform the plighted troth and first promise, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since superior powers, and those that were mightier than himself, had bereft him of that liberty, he was ready and able yet to accomplish his second pledge, namely that she should not come alive into the hands of the Romans: and therefore he advised her, that remembering that noble commander her father and her native country and the two kings to whom she had been married, she would provide for herself and save her own honour. This message, together with the poison, the servant, when he was come unto Sophonisba delivered unto her. "Whereat (quoth she) I accept this marriage present, and welcome it is unto me, if this be the best token that my husband could find to send unto his wife. Yet thus much tell him again from me, that I would have been better content to die, if my marriage-bed had not stood so near to my grave" (*si non in funere meo nupsissem*). She spake not more proudly than she acted, for she took the cup in hand, and showing no sign at all of fear, she roundly drank it off. When the tidings came to Scipio, for fear lest the proud and passionate young prince might do himself some mischief in his sorrow, he sent for him forthwith; and gave him now good and comfortable words, and now gently rebuked, in that he had thought to make amends for one act of folly with another, and to bring it all to a more cruel and tragical conclusion than need had been. The next day to the end that he might withdraw his mind away from this present turmoil of self-reproach, Scipio mounted up into his Tribunal, and bade them call the army to an audience. There first, he openly styled Masinissa by the name of King, and honoured him with rare commendations: which done he gave him a golden crown, a golden cup, a chair of state and a sceptre, both of ivory, a rich Roman robe embroidered in divers colours with palms of victory. To these gifts he added words of honour. For (said he) as there is nothing among the Romans more stately and magnificent than a triumph, so they that ride in triumph, have no ornament more glorious than these of which the people of Rome esteemeth, among all strangers and aliens none to be worthy save Masinissa alone.

By these honours the King's hard thoughts were no little softened, and the hope kindled in him to be made sovereign of all Numidia.

If I had the whole time of this lecture, instead of its last sentence still before me, I could not hope to do justice in any explicit comment

to the tragical pity, and withal, the Roman majesty of Livy's story, nor to the subtle and vivid picture which it gives of the characters of Sophonisba, of Masinissa and of Scipio himself. I must be content to commend it to your private study and delight, as a crowning example of Livy's critical and imaginative power.

SOME APPROACHES TO RELIGION THROUGH POETRY DURING THE PAST TWO GENERA- TIONS.¹

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“**T**O which of the religions do you belong ?” Schiller, in a well-known epigram, supposes himself to be asked. “To none of all that you have named,” he supposes himself to reply. “And on what ground to none ?” “On the ground of religion.” *Und warum keine ?—“Aus Religion.”* I am concerned with this saying only in so far as it may help to explain what I intend by my title—by approaches to religion through poetry. If we postulate that religion is something vaster and more manifold than any recognized expression of it, we can see that it is always possible for minds immersed in other forms of spiritual experience, “voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone”—or even, like Shelley and Lucretius, fiercely hostile to the established religions of their time, to forge out of their very unbelief instruments of divine discovery which those established religions could not then use or even apprehend. These may be extreme instances ; but even Dante, the great Catholic whose sexcentenary the world has recently commemorated, even Dante is not merely the lyric spokesman of the Catholic creed ; at a thousand points he recreates it, eliciting harmonies and overtones which are eloquent to the spiritual ear of men whose dogmatic faith is utterly unlike his own. Poetic vision, just because it presupposes individual creative energy, is not favourable, even in the devout believer, to the passivity of devout belief ; it does not acquiesce but seizes, and in the act of seizing reshapes ; and it is impatient of whatever is mechanical in tradition, of whatever is abstract in system. And it sees fresh things,

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 19 October, 1920.

to which mechanism and abstraction, however magnificently enshrined in ritual and dogma, are blind. Poetry sees this grey old world with the fresh intuition of childhood ; hears, like the infant Samuel, the voice of the Lord in tones which escape the old and wise ; it has sometimes let in upon the perfumed candlelight of the altar the radiance of eternal day. Wordsworth knew what he was about when he "passed unafraid Jehovah and his shouting angels" to prostrate himself in awe before the unfathomable mind of man and before that something far more deeply interfused which rolls through all things. And even in a single poet's genius there may be room at once for the less vital things which he has taken over and for the more vital things which have been reborn with agony and rapture in his soul. There is more religion, as well as more poetry, in Milton's Satan than in Milton's God.

On the other hand, let us freely admit that the poetic "approach to religion" may be no more than approach, a magnificent Pisgah summit from which the further way must be taken under other guidance and by other feet. If the splendour of impassioned vision may rekindle a faith which has degenerated into mere ritual or mere theology, that exaltation of illumined intellect does not make for the lowliness of the devout soul. We may smile when poor Sara Coleridge replied to her husband's sublime rhapsody by begging him to "walk humbly with his God" ; but neither Milton nor Wordsworth had much of that humility, and even in Dante, the supreme figure alike in the religion of poetry and in the poetry of religion, it was not the dominant note. There are many meek and saintly souls to whom none of these great poets have anything to say. Yet the history of religion would be poorer and far less intimately wedded with the history of humanity, had they never lived.

I propose, then, in this essay to glance at a few of the contributions of poetry—in the comprehensive sense which excludes no kind of creative literature—to religion made during the last sixty or seventy years. Those who have occupied themselves with the history of ideas, and especially of ideas about religion in Western Europe during this period, will hardly dispute that it falls naturally into three phases, with the years 1880 and 1900 approximately as the points of cleavage. We may say, summarily, that the three phases are dominated by these three characters : *scepticism, mysticism, reconstruction*. These dominant

characters are particularly apparent in the poetic *approaches to religion* made during their successive course.

I.¹

The opening of the second half of the nineteenth century found Western Europe in a mood like that in which men who have just been relieved of a load of anxiety, sit down to enjoy a hearty meal. The revolutionary risings which in 1848 and 1849 had perplexed all the monarchies of Europe with fear of change, had failed, and an epoch of settled peace and prosperity appeared to have set in, symbolized and even guaranteed, in the eyes of our comfortable middle class, by the great Exhibition of 1851. The counterpart in the intellectual sphere of this temper was the triumph of scientific materialism.

The magnificent structure of German philosophy, culminating in Hegel, lost authority rapidly after Hegel's death in 1831, and every kind of philosophic or theologic creed which depended on the faith that Spirit is the ultimate reality suffered by its decline. Not thought but the senses were the channel by which we had access to reality. The men who thrive on facts were in the ascendant, and those who live on dreams had suffered a set-back of which the ruin of revolutionary idealism in 1848 was only the most palpable sign.

Three points in this change are important for our present purpose ; the growth of realism in literature ; the growing influence and prestige of science, in the large sense which includes history and comparative religion ; and the rise, in many varieties and shades, of sceptical, anticlerical, or anti-religious, forms of faith. All three are closely connected.

For the universe which these realists so powerfully rendered was for most of them empty of any higher existence than man's. Leconte de Lisle offered his hearer the Stoic joy of a heart steeped in the "divine nothingness," or called him to "that city of silence, the sepulchre of the vanished gods, the human heart, where eternally ferments and perishes the illusory universe". His chief follower, Sully Prudhomme, resumed, as far as an urbane French academician may, the creed of the lonely prophet Lucretius.

¹ Much of the substance of this and the following section, with some single sentences, and the verse-quotations, will be found, in another connexion, in the writer's essay on the Main Tendencies of European Poetry (in *Main Tendencies of Recent European Thought*, ed. Marvin, Clar. Press).

In contemporary England, a more powerful tradition withstood these negations, and our two most illustrious poets were also those whose poetry was in deepest accord with the religious inspiration which each, in their different accents, superbly and memorably expressed. But Tennyson and Browning, who had reached poetic maturity when this generation opened, were not untouched by the infection of its chillier temper. Tennyson, who had nobly sung his faith in *In Memoriam*, preached it in the *Idylls*; and Browning, after uttering, as late as 1864, the grandest spiritual song of the century in our tongue, *Rabbi ben Ezra*, fell to arguing and 'parleying' for what remained to him of the faith that inspired *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*. Among their younger contemporaries, who began to be of note in the fifties, the sceptical note found less equivocal expression.

Matthew Arnold contemplated with a more wistful resignation than the French Parnassians the passing of the old gods, listening, on Dover Beach, to that "melancholy long withdrawing roar" of the tide of faith "down the vast edges drear and naked shingles of the world," or, at most, surmising in that ebbing tide a faint counter-current of hope, —a something not ourselves, which makes for righteousness. While in more truculent tones, crowning new idols with garlands plucked from the old, Swinburne chanted his dithyrambic hymn to the glory of Man in the Highest, of Man the Master of things, and Carducci his kindred and almost simultaneous *Ode to Satan*. For Swinburne and Carducci the future was full of glorious hope; even for Arnold it was not wholly dark. But a little later fell upon the ears of a world still basking in its confident prosperity that terrible symphony of omnipotent malignity and resistless doom, the *City of Dreadful Night*.

Yet the scientific movement itself was destined to undermine these negations. The early life of man, his language, his primitive institutions, his mystic beliefs, were being recorded and explained. Religion, evaded as a creed, was explored as a psychological phenomenon, and found to be relative to infinitely varied conditions of age and people. The religions of the East, the South, and of the North—the Vedas and the Vedantas, Zarathustra, Confucius; the splendid myths of Greece, the kindred world of the gods and heroes of Asgard, became daily more real to the historic and thence to the poetic eye. A poetry which rejected religion as a faith could embrace the stories of vanished religions, without reserve, for the beauty and the terror, the pity, the

sublimity, they shadowed forth. Even the religion of Palestine, compromised as it was by the sanction of orthodoxy, could be accepted as human material by poets who had renounced all relations with the Church. Hence the growth of science had a double effect upon the religious aspect of poetry. It tended on the one hand to denude poetry of whatever force or inspiration it may derive from religious belief. But on the other hand it enriched it with the wonderful myth-creations of the religions once alive. Later on, as we shall see, these newly discovered religions were to fertilise and recreate the spirit of religion itself ; for the present they told simply as sources of wonder and beauty, of heroic or tragic story, which the poets reproduced with dispassionate and erudite veracity, in unconscious sympathy with the spirit of science. Leconte de Lisle carves in marble the tragic Norse story of Angentyr's Sword, or the Hebrew story of the doom of Cain, or the Greek story of the Erinnyes.

Swinburne, similarly, takes inspiration from the Hebrew Psalms ; and one of his greatest poems is the application of a saying of Jesus to ruined but glorious France : the speaker is Freedom, her lord, worshipped and then betrayed :—

Sweet ointment of thy grief thou hast brought thy master,
And set before thy lord,
From a box of flawed and broken alabaster,
Thy broken spirit, poured.
And love-offerings, tears and perfumes, hast thou given me,
To reach my feet and touch ;
Therefore thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee,
Because thou hast loved much.

And what is Hugo's *Légende* but a procession of the supreme moments in the history of man, the moments in which whatever was for each changing age and people the religion it lived by, uttered itself finally in speech or action.

II.

But this phase passed. The rise of symbolism, in France, in the early eighties, was a symptom of a changed temper of thought and feeling, traceable with local variations throughout civilized Europe. The confident security of the fifties and sixties passes into a vague unrest, a kind of troubled awe. As if existence altogether was a bigger, more mysterious and intractable thing than was assumed, not so easily to be

captured in the formulas of science, or analysed by the phrases of the most consummate literary art.

"Science is bankrupt!" cried the Symbolist leader, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, triumphantly, throwing down a challenge to the whole of the brilliant materialism of the generation just passed. No, science was not bankrupt; but it had to revise its hypotheses, and enlarge its horizons. The rule of materialism was indeed over, and Lange, who in 1874 wrote its History, in fact pronounced its obsequies. But Fechner was at this very time inaugurating the scientific study of soul, and psychology was soon to be recognized as the key to the sciences. Among the poets there was no question of scientific psychology. But they were deeply conscious of an inner life, full of mysterious import. If they looked at Nature, it was to discover everywhere analogies, symbols, of the soul's interior life. A great French poet of the previous generation, Baudelaire, had pointed out this way of suggestion and analogy when he wrote:—

Earth is a Temple, from whose pillar'd mazes
Murmurs confused of living utterance rise;
Therein Man thro' a forest of symbols paces,
That contemplate him with familiar eyes.

As prolonged echoes, wandering on and on,
At last in one far tenebrous depth unite,
Impalpable as darkness, and as light,
Scents, sounds, and colours meet in unison.

There all the inwoven richness of sense impressions is felt as a murmured speech by which we interpret an invisible world of spirit. Not all the symbolists had any defined religion, but their poetry is charged with the sense of mysterious things beyond expression. At moments, in certain minds, the curtain lifts, and like Albert Samain, they

Feel flowing through them, like a pouring wave
The music tide of universal soul,
Hear in their hearts the beating pulse of heaven.

Symbolism, in short, indicates if not a definite return of the tide of spiritual faith, at least a pause in that ebb, which Matthew Arnold had heard in the fifties, by Dover Beach. It is one of the symptoms of a far-reaching idealistic reaction traceable throughout Europe in the eighties and nineties. Here in England, such symptoms are the so-called Celtic poetry of Yeats and A. E., the discovery of Blake and Shelley, the Catholic mysticism of Francis Thompson; in Belgium the

earlier drama of Maeterlinck, in Norway the later symbolistic plays of Ibsen, in Germany the Parsifal phase of Wagner, and the early poetry of Richard Dehmel, finally, in Russia, the creative prose of Tolstoy, Dostoyevski and Andreyev. The kinship of these voices of many tones cannot be disputed ; what makes them kin is a temper which continually approaches religion. In our Celtic poetry the haunting sense of spirit is overwhelming. Victorian Anglo-Saxondom, with its cheerful prosperities and efficiencies, falls under a cloud. The visible world itself grows vague and blurred ; and the old legend-lore of Ireland, blighted and desiccated by enlightenment and culture, recovers vitality and works its spell on imagination and heart once more. The old Irish hills are again holy with old-world rites, the woods are haunted, and all about them lies the magical twilight and the dewy dawn. There the mystical brotherhood of sun and moon and river and wood, work out their will, there gleams, for ever young and deathless, Eire the mother, in the shining dew and the twilight grey ; and there, leading these fairy and mystic presences, and at one with them, stands God, blowing his lonely horn.

The Catholic faith and orient splendour of Francis Thompson seem to remove him far from this hushed twilight world ; but no poetry of that day is more charged with mystic suggestions. "To be the poet of the return to Nature is something," said Thompson : "I would rather be the poet of the return to God." Yet it is less a retracing of any path than the discovery of a new. We may even say that Catholicism only supplied the less vital symbols of an imagination which heard the stars shout together and brought offerings to the Sun, "To thee, O Sun—or is 't perchance to Christ ?" As Christ Himself appears, not in the half-faded guise of convention, but in imagery at once startlingly new and yet primeval, as of the youth of the world, —the Hound of heaven, akin somehow to Yeats's hunter God, winding his lonely horn across whatever theological gulfs in the dewy twilight.

In the early drama of Maeterlinck the visionary forms, hardly more palpable than those of our Celtic poetry, are also far less real ; they have no support in any living folklore. His link with French Symbolism is rather his intense preoccupation with the inner life, but in him it becomes creative, and he showed that a drama of the spirit, silently and almost imperceptibly performed, may be more tragic than passion and violence. 'Silence itself is for him, as for the quietist and mystic, a

state rich in spiritual virtue beyond the reach of eloquence ; it is a part of the treasure of the humble. In all this side of his mind, Maeterlinck, though he disclaims all positive religion, touches a mood in us which is also touched more subtly by St. Francis and Tagore, whose voices were to find response among us only a little later. But earlier than any of these moderns, earlier than the French Symbolists themselves, in this their disciples, the great Russians had arrested, bewildered and fascinated the world with pictures of strange souls, souls rent by dissonances, tortured by dilemmas, evading our classification by baffling crosslights of inconsistency—the pathological flower of unreason in man. Yet this irrational humanity of theirs is shot through with a spiritual ardour and intensity, which its very unreason occasions and provokes. The problems of right living, of self-fulfilment, of sin and suffering, of love and forgiveness, torment their sick souls and impel them to heights and depths of experience and vision hardly known to those whose blood beats always temperately in time. In Tolstoy and Dostoyevski and the less familiar work of Andrejev and Soloviev, we have, I consider, the most remarkable contribution made by creative genius to the human interpretation of religious ideas in our time.

III.

The life of Tolstoy is commonly conceived, indeed he conceived it himself, as falling into two sharply divided halves. The convert, in the ardour of his new conviction, magnified the division, and saw only the sleep of worldliness in the youth and manhood which preceded the “wakening” of his faith. But it is easy for us to trace in the great creations which preceded the crisis, ideas and dispositions which were thrusting him steadily towards it, and of whose drift and scope he only became fully conscious when they fell into place as elements in the spiritual humanity of his religion. The conviction that salvation for men must come somehow through fellowship and labour and a life delivered from the artifices of caste and creed, is felt fermenting blindly like a yeast in him years before it is proclaimed in the penetrating eloquence of his *Confessions*. Levin in *Anna Karénina* is feeling his way, blunderingly, towards the life of simple fellowship with the peasant which Tolstoy was later to approach in his own person, and Pyotr Bezuchov in *War and Peace* has the air, like Browning’s Lazarus, of one who belongs to another world, and moves about,

still a stranger, in this ; a half childlike being, whose blunders Tolstoy will one day vindicate as symptoms of a larger insight, and his apparent lapses as signs of a purity unspoiled by experience.

And if the great artist foreshadows the preacher and the prophet, so not less, conversely, the character of Tolstoy's religious message bears the stamp of a mind which had grown to maturity in concentrated and exhaustive study of the ways of men. His religion is a human religion ; it throbs with the passion of one who had seen men winning happiness not in proportion to their accepted creeds or attended services or recited prayers, but in proportion as they won the state of peace which is the fruit of minds completely liberated from the lusts of passion, violence, and self-assertion. Tolstoy's religion and his creative work are not detached halves of his nature, far less its antithetic poles ; they are integrally involved the one with the other, and the books and pamphlets and tales in which he has set forth and illustrated his "religion" are not only memorable as literature, but are among the most wonderful contribution made by literary genius in our time to religious ideas.

My Religion is one of the great books of the century. The epithets of "unpractical," "perverse," "fantastic," and the like, fall to the ground before the four-square grandeur and flawless coherence of his vision of eternal life to be lived by man on earth ; a life not personal but universal, emancipated from individual desire and from egoistic satisfaction, a life that comprises the life of humanity, past, present, and to come. We may admit that Tolstoy has painted established Christianity, with its orthodox creed and its institutional government and worship, with too stern a brush ; that he too peremptorily refuses to recognise the possible worth for religion of dogmas and practices which he condemned. But ever since St. Francis confounded the elaborate ecclesiasticism of his time with the wonder of Christlike simplicity born again, the world has listened to no such whole-hearted and clear-eyed revelation of what, if the thought of Christ were once comprehended aright and followed without fear and without reserve, the life of man on earth might become. In Tolstoy, as in Wordsworth, if with weapons and in modes utterly unlike, poetry helped religion to defeat theology. Such an overthrow was portrayed in one of the most moving and impressive, though not in a literary sense, the greatest of his novels,—that story of spiritual regeneration, of Nechliudoff's change

from the profligate young officer who seduces an innocent girl, to the man who sacrifices all his worldly prospects to follow her to Siberian prisons and finally to win her back,—the story to which he significantly gave the great name of *Resurrection*—"Voskresénie." "Great Art," says Mr. Yeats in *Ideas of Good and Evil*, "is the forgiveness of sin." That is said in the spirit of Tolstoy ; but Tolstoy made forgiveness only the first step in an energy of soul-saving self-sacrifice which, like his constructive power, lay outside the horizon and the compass of Yeats.

IV.

The profound impression made upon Europe by Tolstoy yielded ground somewhat when in the eighties we made acquaintance with the work of Immanuel Dostoyevski. We had acquired by that time a certain curiosity about the "Slav genius" shadowed forth in Tolstoy and Turgenev, and the Western culture which had originally commended their work to our unused palates, was now resented as disguising the mysterious oriental fascination of the genuine substance. And now came one who surely revealed the Russian soul in all its heights and depths ; a man who had lived through all the bitterness and horror which Russian persecution and poverty could inflict ; no gentleman living at ease in the literary world of Paris, like Turgenev ; no amateur devotee of simplicity enjoying the secure amenity of a country house, like Tolstoy ; but one who had stood against a wall expecting instant death, then after a commutation of his sentence at the last moment to hard labour, had spent years of brutal suffering in Siberia ; finally, after his return, had struggled with want and bereavement, and undergone the more desperate torture of inner division. Clearly, depths were sounded in this man's work of which there was little trace in his great precursors. It meant little that he delved into the squalor of the slums and low boarding houses and houses of ill-fame of Petrograd, or that, as his fellow-craftsman, Merezhkovsky said, and as has been said of our own Gissing, he makes us feel the unutterable pathos of a street-organ playing in a dirty alley to a ring of dancing ragged and barefoot children. Little, either, that his habitual matter is crime and vice. It is possible enough, as we know, to make stories of these things which scarcely touch, far less penetrate the surface of life. But Dostoyevski's murder-and-detective romance

is like no other. He can make a murderer who is loveable, a harlot who is a saint, an "idiot" who is rich in the wisdom not of this world. This is no mere whitewashing, or shallow compromise. It is the reflex, in these problematic characters, of the dilemma, the inner cleavage, by which he was himself distracted. He saw life on two planes—the plane of the rational intelligence and the plane of mystical apprehension. A profoundly religious temperament tortured by philosophical presentiments which he could neither assimilate nor repel. The problem of self-realization which for him, as for Ibsen, was the fundamental one, presented itself to him in two alternative aspects: the self-realization of the enlightened egoist, and that of the mystic who fulfils himself in utter surrender to God. But if God does not exist? That mystic self-fulfilment then becomes an illusory surrender to a dream. And Dostoyevski never reached complete intellectual assurance. In default of it he flung himself upon a devotion to Christ and the religion of suffering and love. "If anyone could prove to me," he wrote, "that Christ is outside Truth, I would stay with Christ and not with Truth." And with this dilemma he is incessantly preoccupied. It is at the root of his greatest work.¹ The *Brothers Karamazov* presents both the problem and his imagined solution,—the conflict of intellect and spiritual aspiration in Ivan the second brother, and the ideal unworldliness conquering the world in Alyosha, the third. And it is in this book, and in part through Alyosha, that Dostoyevski sets forth his conception of the future of Christianity, and of the evolution of the Christian Church. He is here fiercely opposed to Tolstoy, and his ideas are far less congenial and intelligible to us in the West, but no reader of *Karamazov* can deny the impressiveness of the picture there given of the Russian monasticism, a chief agent in that evolution, in his view, or the grandeur and beauty of the figure of the saintly father Zossima, the living embodiment of that ideal. Zossima is no colourless abstraction of saintliness; he is simply the finest growth of the Russian cloister, and we see him ministering to all sorts and conditions of Russian folk who have crowded in from the remotest wilderness, the crowded city, or the country house, for counsel and help; equal to all occasions, yet with no trace in him of the fashionable parson; solving all problems with a security which would have the air of

¹ In this section I am much indebted to Mr. Janko Lavrin's very acute analysis in his book on Dostoyevski.

infallible tact, if it were not inspired by a profound spiritual humility utterly baffling to the mundane intelligence ; as when he encounters the paroxysm of Dmitri's righteous anger with his impossible father by falling at the vicious old man's feet. From this convent cell in the heart of that Russian orthodoxy which Harnack and the enlightened West regard as the most backward of all the branches of Christianity, Zossima reaches up to eternal and universal religious truth. It is not for nothing that the poet-laureate heard in some noble words of his the intimate voice of the " Spirit of Man " :

" Love will teach us all things : but we must learn how to win love : it is got with difficulty : it is a possession dearly bought with much labour and in long time ; for one must love not sometimes only, for a passing moment, but always. There is no man who doth not sometimes love : even the wicked can do that.

" And let not men's sin dishearten thee : love a man even in his sin, for that love is a likeness of the divine love, and is the summit of love on earth. Love all God's creation, both the whole and every grain of sand. Love every leaf, every ray of life. Love the animals, love the plants, love each separate thing. If thou love each thing thou wilt perceive the mystery of God in all ; and when once thou perceive this, thou wilt thenceforward grow every day to a fuller understanding of it : until thou come at last to love the whole world with a love that will then be all-embracing and universal."

Moreover, this monastic doctrine of Dostoyevski's is free from the reproach to which monasticism is most liable in Protestant eyes. The convent is not a retreat to which men fly from the world to save their souls ; it is a spiritual garden in which souls are reared to go forth to be the world's leaven. " It is you laymen who live in isolation," cries Zossima, " we who live in society." " They keep the image of Christ fair and undefiled ; and when the time comes they will show it to the tottering creeds of the world." And so young Alyosha Karamazov, the beloved disciple of Zossima, instead of being assigned to conventual life, is sent out into the world. Alyosha is Dostoyevski's expression of the synthesis he sought between secular intellect and religious faith, between man's self-realization by his own will and thought, with self-realization by union with the will of God. And the ultimate phase of human evolution to which Dostoyevski looked forward was one in which the entire mundane society would be interpenetrated by the influence of

the Church. This view was sharply contrasted with Tolstoy's, notwithstanding the kinship of their ethical ideals. While Tolstoy repudiated the Church root and branch, and foresaw a Kingdom of Christ on earth from which everything ecclesiastical and dogmatic had been stripped away, Dostoyevski looked to a progressive ascendancy of the Church over the state, in the sense that all secular life would be animated and spiritualized by the ideals embodied in the ecclesiastical ritual and creed.

VI.

Few men of standing in Russia shared this hope. Even Vladímir Solóviev (1853-1900), who during his early maturity looked forward to a transfusion of secular society by the spiritual governance of the Church, died in the belief that the Kingdom of Christ can never be the kingdom of this world.¹ Andreyev and Gorky, the most original of the successors of Tolstoy and Dostoyevski in the next generation, grew up in a society permeated by hostility to every kind of Christianity. That did not prevent these profoundly Russian souls from being haunted by the religious ideas which they intellectually repudiated. To the psychologist these unquenchable glimmerings of spiritual fire among the extinguished ashes are more fascinating than the bright fire and clear hearth of more ordinary intelligences.

Leonid Andreyev was not one of those rationalist sceptics for whom life and the world are perfectly intelligible when once you drop the pretence of religious explanation. He saw them, on the contrary, most usually, as a hopeless enigma, nonsense, and in his grim drama "The Life of Man," he gave as he thought a crucial example of it. "Man" passes from birth to death, wins fame and wealth only to lose them and to perish in a loathsome cellar. If you choose your symbols life may be made as meaningless, and birth and death as terrible, as you will. Yet no one who takes life for a riddle can resist the impulse to read it, and Andreyev again and again hints of shadowy beings beyond the veil. Man's life itself is a lamp malignantly kindled by God, Satan, and Fate. And in the strange vast drama of *Anathema* he goes far towards suggesting a reconciling solution for the enigmatic nonsense of life.²

¹ Cf. his striking dialogues, *War, Progress, and the End of History*, tr. Basky, 1915.

² *Anathema* was inaccessible to the English reader when this account was written; some degree of detail seemed then in place. A translation has since been published.

Once more we have here the tremendous situation first imagined, so far as we know, by the great poet of the Book of Job, which had fascinated one so utterly otherwise built as the author of *Faust*; the Power of Evil let loose, with divine consent, to attempt the seduction of man. Satan's game fails, as it does in the great trials of Job and of Faust; even Andreyev's pessimism, which refuses to temper the horror of Man's death (in the *Life of Man*), stops short of the deadly blow to idealism which would result from an out-and-out victory of Devil over God. To each poet—and though his complete modernism dispenses with diabolic machinery altogether, we may include the author of *The Undying Fire* in the group,—to each poet the final victory of man means the vindication of something in human nature which is to him godlike or divine. To the author of Job the willingness to suffer everything at God's hands, to Goethe, the unwearied labour in well-doing, to Mr. Wells the "Undying fire" of creative work. To Andreyev, it is the love which gives itself away in limitless surrender for suffering humanity.

Anathema, Andreyev's devil, "the accursed one," is a grey-bearded philosopher, a champion of pure intellect, estimating all things by number, measure and weight, like the Reason which was "anathema" to Blake, and his domed forehead is furrowed with the marks of fruitless thought. The scene opens on a wild rocky mountain-side; huge iron gates, crushing the earth with their weight, bar the way upward; they are the limit of the intelligible world. On guard with a drawn sword before them stands a mysterious, inscrutable figure, "*Some One*," mediator between the two realms; before it cowers Anathema, no ironical self-assured Mephisto, but a wheedling schemer, genuinely afraid of the awful figure before him, though masking his fear under an air of mockery. The figure remains inexorably silent. Anathema grows bolder, and at length defiant. Then he bursts into laughter. "Name the Name [of thy God]. Everything in the world seeks good,—and knows not where to find it, everything in the world seeks life,—and meets only death. . . ." Then the figure answers: "He of whom thou askest has no name, nor number, wherewith he may be reckoned, nor measure, wherewith he may be measured, nor weight, wherewith he may be weighed. But thou, Anathema, wilt never see, never hear, and never know, Anathema, unhappy spirit, immortal in number, eternally alive in measure and weight, but not

even born as yet for life." Never ? cries Anathema. He bursts out in defiance. "Rise up, Earth ! Gird thyself with a sword, Man ! There shall be no peace between thee and heaven, and the prince of darkness shall rule now and for ever." And his instrument will be a simple, honest Jew of his acquaintance, one David Leiser. "To thee I will come, David. Thy hapless life I will hurl at proud heaven like a stone from a sling. David, my slave, through thy lips I will announce the truth of human fate."

I can only indicate the plot. The scene changes to the squalid outskirts of a starving Russian town, David Leiser's home. He and his wife, old people, are in the depths of misery. Their little Moses has died of hunger. His wife has already bidden him "Curse God and die". Anathema, a well-dressed gentleman approaches, and informs David that by the death of a brother in America he has inherited a fortune. What is he to do with it ? Anathema bids him "return to God what God gave him," and so avoid His curse. "Give thy estate to the needy, give bread to the hungry, and thou shalt conquer death." David feels the glow of renunciation, and announces that he is about to distribute his possessions. The report spreads far and wide, magnifying as it spreads. Vast multitudes flock towards the town, to find the man who will feed the hungry, heal the sick, give sight to the blind, and raise the dead. In vain he declares that his wealth is all given away, and that he is helpless to heal. The exasperated people fight and plunder, and anarchy ensues. David and Anathema fly, pursued by the multitude, who stone him to death for a traitor and a liar. As he falls, Anathema bursts into a shrill laugh of triumph. In the last Act we return to the vast unearthly scenery of the first. Nothing has happened, nothing is changed. Still the grey rocks, the iron gates, the inexorable Figure. Anathema arrives ; he no longer cowers, but struts, and asks why he is not received like a conqueror, after the ignominy and ruin of David. But he is told that David has attained immortality. Anathema falls to the ground in speechless rage. "What ? that liar in whose name they murder and steal ? Has he not shown the impotence of love, and done a great evil, which can be reckoned by number and measured with measure ?" "Yes, David has done as thou sayest. But measures measure not nor weights can weigh that of which thou knowest nothing, Anathema. David is ruined in numbers, slain in measure and

weight, but he is immortal in the way of light and fire, and of the invisible fire of love, which have no boundaries and are beyond measure."

Thus, as in *Job* and in *Faust*, Satan is finally baffled, and baffled as in *Faust* when he counts himself completely victorious. Mephisto assumes that Faust is his prey, for has he not succumbed to the pleasure of the moment? Anathema is confident that he has shown the futility of love because David has been ruined by his effort to make a suffering world happy. This world of suffering humanity crowded with halt and sick and blind, who at the vague rumour of a deliverer set forth to march to the far off spot where it is said he will be found, is what most profoundly distinguishes this Russian allegory of good and evil from Goethe's. To Goethe suffering was a distasteful fact, and it scarcely enters into his poetry save in order to be dissolved in harmony. The nineteenth century learned to feel suffering more intensely than the eighteenth, and beyond all other peoples Russia has made the world understand suffering, as beyond all others she has undergone it: it is not her least gift to European poetry. And this Russian Devil, with the mocking irony of Mephisto, has also the tragic wistfulness, the tragic futility, of Russia in the past. For he seeks truth which God has made for ever inaccessible, and his sleepless thought is for ever baffled. He is a fiend of the race of Marlowe's Mephistophiles, not of Goethe's. Of this divine power, not less inscrutably hidden from us than from Anathema, we can only say that it resembles the mysterious God of Faust's confession (so remote from the affable Lord of the Prologue in Heaven)—the spirit who cannot be uttered, who can as little be affirmed as denied, for whom every name is false. There is no trace yet of the twentieth-century transformation of the imperfect, struggling God, man's comrade and ally in the taming of the universe, heralded by William James, and of which the undying fires of Mr. Wells's *Job* romance make men conscious. Here, as in so much else, progressive England and America have diverged from the stricken Russia of yesterday,—a Russia still, to all seeming, when Andreyev wrote, mastered by an inexorable fate, in which there was no shadow of change, so that to return there after the acutest human tragedy was to find, as Anathema found, that nothing had happened, that everything was the same.

VII.

We have seen so far, in the later decades of the nineteenth century, a twofold approach to the apprehension of religious ideas through creative literature. We saw how the vast extension of the study of man's infancy, and of the myth world of his infant dreams, drew into the foreground even of a purely scientific or purely literary interest, the birth and evolution of religion. We saw again how the reaction against the plastic objectivity of science took the form, in poetry, of a mysticism which resolved the frame of material things into the symbolic speech of soul. The first phase derives in the main from the great peoples of the West, from their prosperity, their triumphant science and their finished art ; the second from the secular tragedy of Russia or Ireland, and the self-questioning inward gaze of vanquished and humiliated France.

What has happened to these powerful currents of thought and feeling in the literature which has been vocal in the last twenty years ? We must resist the illusion that the temper of a new century sets in the moment people begin to write 1700 or 1900 at the head of their letters. None the less, the opening of the twentieth century was attended in many fields of life by that quickening of pulse, that expansion of the horizon, which we habitually experience at the opening of a new day. Among other phenomena it is hardly to be gainsaid that the ideas and temper of religion have won a new vogue and a new significance in our outlook upon life. And as in other such times of transition, we may distinguish two concurrent processes. The old driving forces have in part been expanded and developed. In part they have been checked, transformed, or superseded. Let me say a word of each of these processes in turn.

In the first place, that exploration of the historic religions of man, of which I spoke, has advanced with ever-increasing pace. And the advance has been not only in geographical range and historic compass, but in psychological insight and spiritual sympathy. Out of the soil of a purely scientific interest in objective religious phenomena, there has grown an interest nourished also by recognition of spiritual needs like our own, finding expression through creeds and rituals not fundamentally different. The religions of Egypt and China, of India and Greece, have ceased, not merely for an enlightened student here and

there, but for the entire educated world, to be merely the pardonable extravagances of pagan man, stammering vaguely, at best, where Revelation spoke loud and clear. It is already possible to augur that the religions will grow in the future by grafting as well as by lopping, not merely discarding their dead matter, the surviving traces of the primitive unreason, the *Ur-dummheit*, but incorporating the discoveries made by the vision of religious genius elsewhere. The gods of Greece have been familiar to poetry since the Renascence. But the Hellenism of our time differs in characteristic ways from that of any previous age. Mr. McDowall, in his fascinating study of Realism, has described the intellectual temper of the present generation as marked by a union of grip and detachment,—vivid intuition of the moment, and its content and import, but openminded scrutiny of its claims and worth, and joyous willingness to chance the hazards of the future. We might term it an imaginative flexibility. It makes less surely for weight of character and power of will than the fierce exclusive fanaticisms of the past, but there is no doubt of its value in liberating and enriching our religious ideas.

The Hellenism of the age of the French Revolution was apt to be fiercely and aggressively pagan. Goethe's passion of paganism when he escaped in 1787 to his Italian paradise, recalls Rienzi's dream of an actual restoration of the ancient republic of Rome. The Catholic shrines established on that sacred soil he repudiated as barbarous medieval relics. At Assisi he passed by with scorn the great Franciscan churches to which modern pilgrims, believers and unbelievers alike, throng, to prostrate himself before the temple of Minerva. At Rome he did his best to make believe that he was a real pagan, on visiting terms with the pagan gods. Here is one of the famous "Roman elegies" written by him, in the Roman elegiac metre, under the shadow of that St. Peter's, which for him simply did not exist :—

O how joyous I feel in Rome ! looking back on the time when
 Gray day folded me round far in the barbarous North.
 Now on each forehead flames a more radiant aether's splendour,
 Phoebus the god awakes colour and form into life.
 Glorious is night with stars, and alive with tender music,
 More refulgent the Moon's lamp than the Sun's in the North.
 Ah, what bliss beyond earth is mine ! Do I dream ? O father
 Jupiter, am I indeed in thy Olympus a guest ?

Here, see I lie prostrate, and reach to thy knees imploring
 Hands. O incline to my prayer, Jupiter Xenios, thine ear !
 How I entered I cannot tell : my steps as I wandered
 Hebe stayed and led here to thy heavenly halls.
 Didst thou bid her bring to thy heavenly courts a hero ?
 Did she mistake ? Forgive ! Leave me the fruit of her fault.
 Suffer me, Jupiter, here, and let Hermes later escort me
 Gently by Cestius' tomb down to the shades of the Dead.

St. Peter's may be allowed to test rather severely the non-Catholic's capacity to enter with imaginative sympathy into the enshrining form of an alien faith. A. H. Clough, we may remember, seventy years after Goethe's visit, did not ignore the great basilica ; but it repelled him, and he expressed the repulsion in feeling and eloquent, if pedestrian, hexameters (in the *Amours de Voyage*) :—

Rome disappoints me still, but I shrink and adapt myself to it.
 Somehow a tyrannous sense of a superincumbent oppression
 Still, wherever I go, accompanies ever, and makes me
 Feel like a tree (shall I say) buried under a ruin of brickwork.
 Rome, believe me my friend, is like its own Monte Testaceo,
 Merely a marvellous mass of broken and castaway wine-pots.
 Ye Gods ! what do I want with this rubbish of ages departed,
 Things that nature abhors, the experiments that she has failed in ?
 No, the Christian faith, as I, at least, understood it,
 Is not here, O Rome, in any of these thy churches,
 Is not here, but in Freiburg, or Rheims, or Westminster Abbey.

Finally, some thirty years after Clough, a young Italian poet of our own day entered St. Peter's, and he has left a record of what he felt. Gabriele D'Annunzio is as fanatical a Hellenist as Goethe. A disciple of the ardent classicist Carducci, he has told his life's history in verse under the symbolic guise of a voyage to his Holy Land, Hellas. Just as much as Goethe he makes believe to be a real pagan Greek. On the way he lands at Olympia and offers up a prayer, nine hundred lines long, to Hermes, the god of energy, whose Praxitelean statue had shortly before been unearthed by the Germans in the ruins. But unlike Goethe and Clough, he could find himself also in the great metropolitan Church of Catholicism. He wrote of it in another Roman elegy, emulating Goethe's inlyric beauty, and in the same classic elegiac metre. But its purport could not be more remote :—

Thro' the vaulted nave, which for ages has gathered so vast a
 Human host, and of incense harboured so vast a cloud,
 Wanders the chorus grave from lips invisible. Thunders
 Break from the organ at times out of its hidden grove.
 Down thro' the tombs the roar reverberates deep in the darkness :
 The enormous pillars seem to throb to the hymn.
 High enthroned the pontifical priests watch, blessing the people.
 At the iron gates angels and lions keep guard.
 How majestic the chant ! From its large long undulations
 Rises one clear voice with a melodious cry.
 The voice mourns, to the world a sorrow divine revealing ;
 The notes quiver and sob, warm as it were with tears.
 The voice mourns, alone ; in his cold vault does he not hear it,
 Palestrina ? Alone the voice mourns, to the world
 Uttering a sorrow divine. Does the buried singer not hear it ?
 Does not his soul leap up, bright on the heights of heaven,
 Even as a dove makes wing aloft into golden turrets ?
 The voice mourns, alone ; mourns, in the silence, alone.

D'Annunzio stands, in natural gift of critical sympathy, as in cosmopolitan range of interest, incomparably below Goethe, and no less decisively apart from Catholic belief. Yet to him, through the changed temper of his time, this instrument of a faith he had long discarded was still clamant ; in its played-out tunes there were vibrating chords which could still speak home.

There is here, of course, no question of synthesis. We have to do only with the unconscious modification of temperament out of which the ideals of synthesis might naturally grow. Can we trace any signs of such an ideal elsewhere ?

Some famous passages in nineteenth-century literature are inspired by it. Heine, long ago, with the Greek clarity radiating from his intellect, and the Hebraic passion throbbing in his heart, struck out the thought of a "Third Kingdom," to be one day evolved from the kingdoms of Christ and Moses, which in him, as in the great actress Rachel, "clashed, contending powers". And we know how the great Scandinavian dramatist, inheriting the traditions of Young Germany, but trained in the sombre Christian piety of the North instead of in Judaism, was stung by the intoxicating splendour of Rome to his cognate dream of a "Third Kingdom," which the Greek ideal of sensuous beauty and the Christian ideal of spiritual self-surrender, would one day combine to create. Heine died, and Ibsen's inexorably closed lips never expounded that oracular utterance. Matthew Arnold,

nearly at the same time, was evolving from the complex of modern mentality his polar opposites, Hebraism and Hellenism. But those opposites, inevitably in the hands of one who shared in both, drew insensibly together, and became more and more clearly indispensable components of a single supreme ideal, the secret of spiritual fulness of attainment in this life. And so, in this generation, Adolf Harnack, from the side of Protestant theology, finds the Christian virtues of Faith, Hope, and Love insufficient unless supported by the secular virtues of the Greeks. "If, in science, as well as in the life of feeling, we could succeed in uniting the inwardness and depth of Augustine with the bright clear mood of the ancients, we should attain the highest."¹ And, yet more explicitly, Mr. Lowes Dickinson, in a phrase of memorable beauty: "For what shall we call?" asks Vivian at the close of his *Symposium*. "Pagan? Christian? For neither, and for both. Paganism stands for the men in Man, Christianity for the man in men. . . . It is only in the soil of Paganism that Christianity can come to maturity, and Faith, Hope, Charity are only seeds of themselves till they fall into the womb of Wisdom, Beauty, and Love."

But even from the heart of the Hebrew world, so utterly alien as we think the temper of Hellenism, we have in recent literature a cry for reunion with it,—the longing of a Hebrew poet in modern Russia for the beauty of the Greek world and the joyousness of the Greek temper. The savage persecution of the Russian Jews during the thirty years before the Revolution provoked a great burst of poetry in the sacred mother-tongue of the afflicted people. As their earthly tene-ment was laid waste, the indestructible possessions of the soul were more vividly seen and more passionately and lyrically grasped. The Hebrew faith broke out in song, sometimes in Russian, most often in Hebrew. But on some of these poets the misery of the Jewish people told in a different way. Highly educated in the culture of Europe, they felt the power of those strains in it in which Hebraism had no part,—not least of the "Greek," to whom the finest flower of Hebraic genius had been foolishness. Tchernechowsky, in particular, uttered the longing for the blithe and joyous simplicity in which the Greeks, as we are fain to imagine them, lived. For him Greece was "a land of marvel where beauteous goddesses walk for ever in strange charm and

¹ Quoted by Höfding, *Phil. of Rel.*, p. 370.

blooming in eternal spring, . . . the sacred splendour of marble in their countenances, a fire alight in their hearts. . . . The mortals too are of good cheer, and strength is in their loins, wisdom and force meet in them, and godlike they appear."

To utter these Greek longings, moreover, Tcherneshowsky uses a Greek metre,—compelling his stubborn Hebrew into the mould of the hexameter. More than this, he feels in the Greek divinities the eternal youth which Keats and Shelley felt, and which in the God of his own people, helpless to protect them, had passed into an effete old age ; and so in the impassioned verses called *Towards Apollo* he offers his homage to the glorious god of light whom the Gentiles worshipped and the Jews abhorred :—

I come to thee, long-forgotten God,
 God of forgotten and by-gone ages,
 I come to thee. Dost thou know me ?
 I am the Jew—thine ancient enemy ;
 My people's faith from that of thy votaries
 Is distant as heaven from earth.
 My nation has aged, and God with it.
 God's light give me ; God's light ; every sinew calls
 Life, oh life, every bone, every vein,
 God's light and life.—
 And I am come to Thee !¹

With this longing cry of a Hebraism oppressed and outworn to the Hellenism of its radiant dreams, I leave the record, fragmentary as it necessarily is, of efforts to enrich the substance of religious ideas by synthetic additions from without. I have now to speak of the more radical, even revolutionary transformations, from within.

VIII.

The ideas which determined the direction of these transformations are most clearly expressed in the work of two famous thinkers, both of whom have been arraigned by their critics as poets wearing the mask of philosophy—Nietzsche and Bergson. I can only touch in the briefest way the relevant points. "Superman" and "Creative Evolution" have become common catchwords, almost the slang of journalism. Both phrases mark attitudes of mind alien from religion as currently understood. Alien is indeed a tame word for the frenzied hatred displayed

¹ The translations are taken from a lecture by my friend Mr. Isaiah Wassilevsky on *Hebrew Poetry of To-day*.

by Nietzsche for Christianity,—the religion of the herd, of the slave. Christianity, Goethe said, was founded on reverence for that which is beneath us, for the humble. Nietzsche, on the contrary, was consumed with scorn for the mass of man. But his scorn was the reverse side of a fierce, insatiable idealism. He reaches out after a perfection beyond humanity as it is, and only to be won by ruthlessly trampling on men as they are. If he refuses to call that perfection divine, or to invoke divine aid in reaching it, it is because all gods hitherto conceived by man fall short of his ideal. He rejects gods, not because he has no sense of the divine but because, if one may say so, no god is divine enough for him. Between the rottenness of man as he is and the immeasurable heights of a possible existence, a gulf yawns, and the glory of the Superman, vaguely descried on the further brink, was rather a menace than a hope, for the pigmy population on the hither side.

Bergson, on the other hand, by his doctrine of creative evolution, drew into close and intimate fellowship with man the shaping forces by which, if ever, a superhumanity is to be won. His God is “continually being formed and for ever renewed,” and our mind, by being re-absorbed into the swift current of the divine life, becomes possessed of the same evolutionary power of movement.”¹

Both writers concur in dismissing the notion of progress as a continuous organic development, almost an axiom of nineteenth-century thought. “You have set aside a thousand years of orderly logical development,” wrote his old school-fellow, Wilamowitz, bitterly, to Nietzsche, on the appearance of his first book, *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), an eloquent pæan of impassioned impulse against philosophic calm. While with Bergson, evolution—one of the great words of the nineteenth century—became a formula not of mechanic struggle for existence or organic change, but of vital impulse, of creative purpose. And its other word, the *will to live*, became a formula of hope and progress.

It is clear that systems of thought so stimulating, so in tune with the temper of the time as those of Nietzsche and Bergson, could not fail to influence the shaping and re-shaping of religious ideas. I think we may distinguish two such lines of influence corresponding to two moods or tempers which they tend to stimulate and fortify: the temper of the

¹ *L'Evol. Créatrice*, p. 216. Aliotta, *Idealist Reaction*, p. 128.

craftsman and the temper of the *adventurer*. The note of the first is creation, the note of the second is romance. The first has behind it more seriousness and weight, more passion for progress, more readiness to renounce passing joys for the sake of the work to be done, and more definite resolve to do that work. The second, not less daring or hardy than the first, not only delights in hazard and chooses hazard for its own sake, but is inclined to assume that hazard is so to speak the only salvation, and that truth is something which only escapes by a hairbreadth from being a lie. Each of these "varieties of religious experience" has been made his own by an imaginative writer of repute in our day.

IX.

Religion as romance, orthodoxy as an exciting, perhaps breakneck adventure, has found its apostle in Mr. G. K. Chesterton. At the outset of his essay on "Orthodoxy" he compares himself to an English yachtsman who, having miscalculated his course, has landed in England, under the impression that it was an unknown island in the South Sea. This man has in the same few minutes all the fascinating terrors of going abroad combined with all the humane security of coming home again. And this union of suspense and satisfaction seems to Mr. Chesterton the ideal experience, which it is the main problem of life to maintain and renew. How, in other words, can we contrive to be at once astonished at the world, and at home in it?

That union was already accomplished in Mr. Chesterton's own temperament,—a man "at home in the world," if ever man was, a good liver, a boon companion, denouncer of teetotalers and all other enemies of cakes and ale, of the heretics in general who spoil good company; yet also, quite as genuinely, declaring that there is in this very familiar reality itself, seemingly so established and secure, something queer, fantastic, magical, and that miracle, banished by rationalist common sense, is just the one indefeasible fact, the one thing that is happening everywhere all the time. One might say, in Mr. Chesterton's vein, that he would not feel "at home in the world" unless he felt "astonished" at it, unless his eyebrows, so to speak, were permanently raised. He joins heartily in the reaction against intelligence and its methods, so pronounced in Bergson and Nietzsche; but for quaintly opposite reasons. Bergson disparages intelligence because it is halting

and cautious, Mr. Chesterton because it is so smooth and regular. Bergson exalts intuition because it is swift and certain, Chesterton because it is so gloriously incalculable and insecure. It is not hard to see what aspects of Christianity would appeal to a mind of these proclivities. It will attach itself to that vein of transcendent unreason which was at the outset foolishness to the Greeks, and which culminated in Tertullian's "I believe because it is impossible". In his fable of *The Ball and the Cross*, a rationalist and a Christian believer meet in the apex of St. Paul's, and it is explained that the ball, a smooth uniform curve, without excrescence or adventure, symbolises rationalism, while Christianity is naturally and aptly expressed by the Cross, in its very form a contradiction in terms. Christianity is the richer because it is paradoxical, and the seeming contradictions at which the simple believer stumbles and the simple unbeliever scoffs, become clinching proofs that it is the right faith for man. It is right, indeed, precisely because man is wrong. The flaws in man's nature, and the misfit between him and the world, are the very grounds which justify optimism, because here is Christianity waiting as it were to be the saving faith of just such a being. "The modern philosopher had told me that I was in the right place," he declares, and I had felt depressed even in acquiescence. But I had heard that I was in the *wrong* place, and my soul sang for joy, like a bird in spring." (One may note in passing how Mechnikov devoted his great book on the Nature of Man precisely to a demonstration of the misfit between Man and Nature, drawing thence a very different conclusion).

Yet the excitements of this romantic "Orthodoxy" are quite distinct from the spiritual wrestlings of the lonely mystic. They have their sociable, companionable sides, befitting their exponent. This Christianity is indeed a house of many mansions, no lonely cell like the bare simple faith of the Puritan, but a big genial hostelry, crowded with paradoxes, whose very extravagance makes them the best of company. The lonely faiths, where one man stands against the world—*unus contra mundum*—are obnoxious precisely because of their unsociable estrangement of the devotee from his fellows; and the doctrine of the Trinity is defended as a kind of divine committee, admitting of discussion and play of character,—one pleading justice, another mercy,—against the lonely unsociable autocracy of the theistic god.

X.

Yet the time, as we have seen, had sterner needs ; blitheness of romance danced in its blood, but it craved also the tense muscle and the shaping hand and brain, and these needs, also, struck out their counterparts in religious conception. The author of *Creative Evolution* has so far only vaguely adumbrated his conclusions on religion. But to the kindred mind of William James we owe the most trenchant sketch yet attempted of the religion postulated by a universe which is being constantly created, but where nothing is absolute, fixed, or secure. If there is a divine power, it too must, then, be finite and limited, a god who grows and who strives ; and James is never weary of deriding what he calls the "full-dress, white-chokered" Absolute of Hegel, which is implicitly complete from the beginning, so that the continuous struggle by which it is supposed to be evolved is an unreal conflict in which both sides are at bottom right. James declared that not only is the conflict real, with a foe,—the "wildness" of the universe, which may prevail,—but that we and the finite striving god take part in it together, and share the chance of success or failure. We understand how this "variety of religious experience" should appeal to minds on fire with the passion of creation.

"My central interest is a yearning for divine efficiency and divine ecstasy," says Mr. Wells, and this is the root both of his theory of conduct, and of his religion. It provides the substance of his novels, and his ultimate theory of the world. That a man of his training and proclivities should have come forward at the height of his career, not confessing himself an agnostic or an atheist, or entertaining theism as a not improbable hypothesis, but proclaiming God his invisible King, and the God of his salvation, could hardly have happened before our time ; nor could it have happened now unless the God he proclaims had also been refashioned to the time's measure. Wells's theism marks no surrender, no retracing of his steps ; it is rather a translation into theological terms of his own inmost aims. The Wellsian God is of the twentieth century, like his worshipper, and stamped with its genius and with its limitations, no less than he. Of the theism familiar to our fathers, and to our childhood, there is no trace. The infinite Being, almighty, all-knowing, all-benevolent, rewarding good and punishing ill, who satisfied theological logic perhaps better than religious emotion, has

given place to a fighting and striving God, ally of man and needing man's alliance, who urges man to join in the conflict "without consolations and without reward". This striving God is revealed not to the serene contemplation of the optimist, nor to the devout quiescence of the mystic, but to the heart aflame with iconoclastic zeal, burning to create and to destroy. This flaming zeal is the "undying fire" by which men live their highest life, and by which they find God. "There exists an undying fire in the hearts of men," says the hero of the book so named. "By that fire I live. By that I know the God of my salvation. His will is service. He urges me to conflict, . . . the essence of religion is resistance to what is, . . . a fight against the Dark Being of the Universe who seeks to crush us all. . . . It is a fight against Disorder. . . . The end and substance of education is to teach men and women of the Battle of God . . . to draw all men together out of themselves into one common life and effort with God."

XI.

Here we see the passion to transform the world, actually begetting a religion, and a religion of fiery intensity, in a mind by training and intellectual habit highly insusceptible to it. In the French poet, Paul Claudel, we find the same urgent practical need bending to its purpose the dogmatic faith of an ardent Catholic believer. Claudel had been a pupil of Bergson at the École Normale, and wrote in 1903 an essay on "Poetic Art" permeated by Bergsonian ideas. The tremendous crisis of the war evoked all the Manichean in him. He might have said with Wells: "The essence of religion is a fight against the Dark Being of the Universe who seeks to crush us all". Listen how the storm of militant rage sweeps away this fanatical Catholic's veneration for the imposing fabric of ecclesiastical and military aristocracy.

Victory is the first need, he declares, and for that we want the young men, and the naked simplicity of the days of Christianity:—

To-morrow the candles and the dais and the bishop with his clergy coped
and gold-embossed,

But to-day the shout like thunder of an equal, unofficered host,

Who, led and kindled by the flag alone,

With one sole spirit swollen, and on one sole thought intent,

Are become one cry like the crash of walls shatter'd and gates rent:

Hosanna unto David's Son!

Needless the haughty steeds marble-sculptured, or triumphal arches, or
 chariots and four,
 Needless the flags and the caparisons, the moving pyramids and towers, and
 cars that thunder and roar,—

'Tis but an ass whereon sits Christ :

For to make an end of the nightmare built by the Scribes and the Pharisees,
 To get home to reality across the gulf of mendacities,

The first she-ass he saw sufficed !

Eternal youth is master, the hideous gang of old men is done with, we
 Stand here like children, fanned by the breath of the things to be,

But victory we will have to-day !

Afterwards the corn that like gold gives return, afterwards the gold that like
 corn is faithful and will bear,

The fruit we have henceforth only to gather, the land we have henceforth
 only to share,

But victory we will have to-day.¹

And Claudel makes his God a party in the struggle, and hectors
 Him for imperfectly supporting the French cause.

XII.

In all that I have said so far of the religious ideas evolved or transmuted in the literature of our time, we have seen the working of dominant forces or ideals, which I called, in their lighter aspect, "romance," in their more strenuous, "creation". They did not imply any sharp severance from the religions of the past ; they did not prevent Claudel from being Catholic, or Mr. Chesterton from being "orthodox". But they inevitably relaxed the weight of tradition, dissolved the spell of the past, put a premium as it were, upon setting sail from the shore, upon summarily reshaping the given block ; and a discount upon all the processes of continuity, where the future is involved in the past, as the flower in the leaf. Yet it is certain that, were the sense that we are somehow one both with the past and with all the rest of humanity which has, like ourselves, grown out of it, to perish, both humanity and religion would grievously suffer. And I have to ask, finally, whether any substitute or compensation for that largely discredited conception of organic continuity has found its way into the impassioned intelligences which have made poetry and felt religion in our time. Certainly there

¹ Claudel's poem has already been quoted (in the present version) with others, in the writer's essay "On the Main Tendencies in Recent European Poetry" (*Main Tendencies in Recent European Thought*, ed. Marvin, Clar. Press). It is still more apposite here.

are signs that, alongside that violent shattering of ties which culminated in the tragedy of the Great War and the hardly less tragic Peace, there has been "slowly flooding in the main" of a growing consciousness of oneness among the peoples of the world. We grasp the solidarity of man more intimately than was possible to those who proclaimed it a century ago, and if its lacerations are more grievous we also feel them more acutely. Socialism, which has become a power in our time, is to-day one of the main bulwarks of the solidarity of man. It has asserted more wholeheartedly than any of the religions the faith in the brotherhood of man. Socialism for the most part discards religious ideas. But many deeply religious minds have embraced Socialism, and even found support for its energetic affirmation of fellowship in their faith that the divine spirit is nearer where two or three are gathered together, than to those who have no such attachments. The thought that community of feeling itself has in its nature something divine, as resembling the compassionate awareness of all our woes and wants which we ascribe to God, inspired a contemporary French poet, Jules Romains, to a development remarkable for the daring logic which clothes this thought in flesh and blood. His roots are not in Christianity, but in the strong French tradition of Comte and Le Playe, which found something divine in the bond of family and in the more impalpable bond which makes us one in humanity. What is least divine in us is for Romains our capacity to be happy when others are suffering, even during the horrors of a battlefield provided it is sufficiently far.

The basis of Romains' poetry is his wonderfully acute sense of community. The bond which we lightly talk of as binding a man to his family, to his village, to his fellow-men, is for him a religion; there is in it something divine, and when such a bond is formed, a divinity is created. Wherever men quit absolute solitude to enter into contact with one another, something divine comes into existence, a something which is of the substance of Deity. The culminating stage in the evolution is man's feeling for entire humanity. He feels acutely how far even he himself is as yet from the instant response to suffering in other parts of the world, and looks forward to a time when each of us will react to such appeals as we react to a hurt done to our own nervous system. This is powerfully expressed in his poem "During a War" (*Pendant une Guerre*). In the first part he describes with absolute candour and precision the state of mind—without which the

last five years would have driven us mad—of those, far from the battle-field, honest and feeling men, who yet contrive to go about their day's business with apparent unconcern :—

Yonder, on shuddering humanity
 Death is descending like the autumn rain . . .
 Here, nature dreams not of it, nor my soul ;
 Calm is the dawn, and calm my reason is ;
 I do not smell the far-off massacre,
 The war seems as remote as history . . .
 Surely these dead are of another world,
 Seeing my blood runs not cold when theirs is spilt !
 I who so fain would suffer torture for
 The pangs of every bleeding soul or body
 Must I feel nothing of all these deaths ? I know
 That others suffer, suffering not myself.
 Sorrow refuses my wide opened arms.

Then he turns upon himself with the thought :—

O when our race begets a stronger breed,
 When Flesh divided melts into a single
 Flesh, indivisible, imperishable,
 Traversed by the same tunnel of force and thought ;
 When, sated with the passion for existence,
 Humanity will cling and cleave to Earth . . .
 And Earth from one pole to the other, *feel*.
 Then will a battle, a lost cry of pain,
 Make continents vibrate, like a pebble cast
 Reverberating along the waves. Then, suddenly,
 Without our thought or knowledge, we shall know
 That somewhere some one has been slain.

But the transition is slow, and the consummation far off :—

I hunger ! Not for an ideal ; ideals
 Disgust me, but for Being ! We need a god !
 We need gods ! Not gods hidden away in heaven,
 Pallid First Causes, but gods of flesh and blood,
 Alive, ourselves, whose substance we can grasp,
 Who suffer with our frames, see with our eyes ;
 Divine animals whose limbs we are,
 Who hold all things, body and space, enclosed
 Within their real and palpable unity.
 We must some day become Humanity.

—*La Vie Unanime.*

Such a conception of the growth of man towards the divine may well seem crude and crass : it is significant only as an attempt to find religious expression for an acute sense of the need of human community.

But as in some of our earlier examples, the most moving witness to the power of the surging tides of tendency in our time has been given by their impact upon minds deeply imbued with the old religions. As the stress of the war passion turned the Catholic Claudel into a scorner of ecclesiasticism, and his omnipotent God into a struggling imperfect partner in the defence of France, so another great French Catholic poet, Charles Péguy, was drawn by his profound sense of the solidarity of man to revolt against the Catholic dogma which condemned the mass of men to eternal banishment in hell. In his earliest version of the Jeanne d'Arc mystery, he tells how Jesus, on the Cross, grieved only for Judas, because he could not save him. He

Saw not his Mother in tears at the cross-foot
Below him, saw not Magdalen, nor John,
But wept, dying, only for Judas' death.
The Saviour loved this Judas, and though utterly
He gave Himself, he knew he could not save him.

Péguy was not tolerant of evil, nor did he revolt, like the humanitarian modern critics of the dogma, against its savagery ; he revolted against the futility of disposing of evil by *damning* it, instead of *fighting* it. Here the mind of the modern democrat is seen remoulding the doctrine of damnation under the impulse of two human inspirations,—the solidarity of all men, good or bad, and the power of good to shatter the power of evil. Solidarity with him was no sentimental harmony ; you might have to do battle, precisely in order to vindicate it. And Péguy met his death very early in the war, September, 1914, the very last man to fall in the battalion he led ; sustaining single-handed the solidarity of Frenchmen in the cause of France.

It is hard to find any parallel among ourselves to the democratic Neo-Catholicism of Claudel and Péguy. Protestantism, one would be inclined to say, has lost since Milton the capacity to produce great poetry. But we have one poet among us to-day who has seen Evangelical religion through the medium of a faith in the solidarity of man as deep-rooted as Péguy's. Mr. Masfield has felt with wonderful intensity the greatness of the supreme situation of evangelical theology,—the sinner saved by grace ; and as Péguy made Christianity pity Judas, so Masfield has gathered about his sinner to be saved all the squalid and sordid traits of modern slum life, and used a speech magnificently and fearlessly democratic in reach and scope. And the

democratic soul of Christianity has never been expressed in terms of more imaginative power and more penetrating truth than in the words in which the converted sinner tells of the new vision which that Everlasting Mercy had brought him :—

I did not think, I did not strive,
 The deep peace burnt my *me* alive ;
 The bolted door had broken in,
 I knew that I had done with sin.
 I knew that Christ had given me birth
 To brother all the souls on earth,
 And every bird and every beast
 Should share the crumbs broke at the feast.

That is the voice, speaking out of a rude and untutored mind, of that universal brotherhood, passing the bonds of nations, implied in the Church of Christ, which official Christianity has so gravely perverted in the supposed interest of nationality.

I have attempted, in the fragmentary survey which I now close, to indicate some of the forms of religious thinking and feeling which the basal tendencies of our time have generated in the rich transfiguring or distorting medium of poetic mind. How varied they are we have seen ; but they have one pervading trait : they bring divine things very near to human, and in their revolt against the colourless abstractions of dehumanized theism, making God often such a one as we ourselves. A derisive critic might say that the authentic vision of God being obscured, or having faded finally away, we had clothed His effigy with garments borrowed from the most efficacious virtues of men, only of stronger fabric and superior cut,—their pity and love, their struggle with limitations, their sense of solidarity. Outside literature, too, the same humanization of the divine is apparent : the Christian Church of to-day draws its strength not from dogma or ritual, but from the person of Christ and labour for humanity, while the infinite and transcendant God fades for the popular consciousness towards the far off horizon of Olympus and Asgard. Now this humanization of God does not fully express the natural temper of poetry. Nothing that is near and human is foreign to poetry. But poetry also pierces through them to transcendant and ineffable things beyond. It leaps up with a cry of exultation when infinite and impossible things people its dream or swim into its ken ; like the noble horse of Plato's charioteer, it snuffs

the air from afar that breathes from the ideal region of the things that veritably are. Poetry has its way in conceiving the divine not when Milton introduces God the Father scholastically vindicating His ways to Man, but when Dante at the height of the *Paradiso* has the vision of the glory of Him who moves all things, and whose splendour penetrates the universe, irradiating one part more and another less ; or when Shelley, at the close of the *Adonais*, utters the indwelling divineness of things in language which seems to be that divineness veritably breaking into speech :—

That light whose smile kindles the universe,
That beauty, in which all things live and move ;
That benediction, which the eclipsing curse
Of birth can quench not, that sustaining love
Which through the web of being blindly wove
In man, and beast, and earth, and air, and sea,
Burns bright or dim as each are mirrors of
The fire for which all thirst, now burns in me,
Consuming the last cloud of cold mortality.

That is how poetry would like to see the universe. But the weight of the incumbent hour is on her, and she has to dream of the things that are given her by the Time she dwells in, and the men for whom she sings.

ATHENA, SOPHIA AND THE LOGOS.

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THE re-discovery of the place which Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, occupied in primitive Christian thought as an antecessor to the more familiar Logos or Divine Reason, is an event of great theological importance. It gives us a clear perception of the starting-point from which the evolution of Christian doctrine proceeds, and an equally clear vision of the goal towards which it is tending. However much the intellectual road from Jerusalem to Nicæa may be crossed by other lines of speculation, the road itself is continuous and fairly straight. When the identification of Christ with the Wisdom of God has been made, and that Wisdom has been interpreted as Divinely foretold in the eighth chapter of Proverbs (and all the ancient theologians are agreed as to the assumed inspiration and infallibility of the Book of Proverbs), it is not difficult to see how the Prologue to St. John's Gospel came into being, nor how the Creeds, Nicene and other, were involved in the primitive identification. In our work on the *Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel* we showed the probability that the Prologue itself was a re-casting of a Hymn in honour of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, and that this Hymn might be regarded as a versification of the eighth chapter of Proverbs with collateral influence from the seventh chapter of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Wisdom of Ben Sirach*.

It is evident that this hypothesis as to the Johannine origins opens the door for a number of other investigations. In the area of Christian thinking we shall be face to face with the question as to whether the identification of Jesus and Sophia is due to himself or to his immediate followers; in the area of pre-Christian thought we shall be obliged to ask whether the Divine Wisdom is a home-grown product of Judaism or whether it has been imported, and also whether, if a home-grown product, its growth has been affected by outside influences, say from

Egypt, Greece or Babylon. It will not be an easy task to resolve these and related problems.

We are not unaware, for instance, of the attempts that are being made, as by Professor Langdon recently, to find the fourth Gospel in Sumerian or Babylonian! If we do not at once plunge into the criticism of these or similar hypotheses, it is because we prefer an easier road, viz., that which leads to the unknown by way of the known. Our Wisdom and Logos documents are not thousands of years old: they are comprised as a group within the narrow compass of two or three centuries; and the age to which they belong is only nebulous because we ourselves are stupid. There is an abundance of material of every kind for criticism to occupy itself with, whether in history, philosophy or literature.

Our first task, following on the enquiry which put the Logos of St. John into its right place relatively to the Palestinian Wisdom, was to scrutinise more closely one particular section of the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon*, in quest of such influences as might have operated on the side of Greek philosophy. It had been for a long time matter of recognised critical agreement that there were elements in the *Wisdom of Solomon* which could be described as Stoic, and these were especially numerous in the seventh chapter, in which Wisdom is treated to a number of epithets, which had a definitely Stoic flavour. She has a dictionary of her own but it is clearly a dictionary of philosophy, in which a Stoic teacher would see his own face in a glass and not very darkly. Wisdom was identified with the Primal Intelligence, the Divine Immanence, and the Universal Providence: and it was natural to the critics who only detected linguistic coincidences, to suggest that the Wisdom of the Apocryphal Writer was only the Logos of the Stoics in a Semitic dress.

At this point we took the matter up, and showed that there was a great deal more of fundamental Stoicism in the work than could be derived from the idea of the Logos: the writer was identifying Wisdom with God, not in a Semitic sense, but in the sense of the Greek Pantheon, which had been resolved into Zeus out of its normal multiplicity. The unification was, however, incomplete; for although Wisdom might be affirmed in terms of Unity (as the Being who is *One* and *can All*), the figures of Zeus and Athena were still on the screen; the pantheistic conception had not blended them: each could

be distinctly identified side by side with the other. The extension of Wisdom 'from marge to marge, valiantly and sweetly,' was shown to be Athena, viewed as the flashing rapidity of the æther, with whom Athena herself was identified (a bad piece of philology) by the Stoics. So that we were entitled to say

Wisdom is Zeus

and

Wisdom is Athena,

which leads us at once to the inclusive formula underlying the language of the Johannine *Prologue* that

Wisdom was God.

It is clear that if we have rightly derived the influences at work in the mind of the author of Ps. Solomon's Wisdom, so as to cast the shadow of Zeus and the shadow of Athena on the apocryphal page, that we cannot stop with that discovery : we must go on and test the matter further by asking whether there are any other traces of Greek gods in the document. The enquiry is particularly interesting as regards Athena, whose presence has certainly not hitherto been suspected in Jewish writings, for Athena is the Greek goddess of Wisdom, so that the equation between Athena and Wisdom was almost inevitable to the mind of a writer who had a moderate acquaintance with Greek culture, and was able to make parallels between the Hebrew and Greek religions. So we address ourselves to the search for further traces of Athena, or of the compound Zeus-Athena, in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

As we remarked previously, there is no need for us to go down the Bagdad Railway in search of our goddess ; nor is it necessary for us to delve into the primitive strata of the history of religion among the Greeks. For instance, the question whether the birth of Athena, as represented by Pheidias on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, was known to Homer, does not concern us ; it was certainly known all over the Greek world in the time of the composition of the writing which we are studying. It had its place in popular religion, and it is popular religion that expresses itself in Stoic teaching. Let us see if this popular philosophy and this popular religion have left any further marks on the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

In the eighteenth chapter we have a very vivid picture of the destruction of the first-born in Egypt at the time of the Exodus. The

writer of the book turned aside from his purely philosophical concepts in the seventh chapter, and his desire (as Solomon) to have this wondrous Wisdom for his affianced bride, and betook himself to the history of the Hebrew people, in order to show how that history was to be read as the deed of the Divine Wisdom and the panorama of the Divine Providence. This historical retrospect brought him, in due course, to the story of the Exodus, the plagues of Egypt and the great Deliverance. His description of the death of the first-born is as follows :—

ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων,
ἀπότομος πολεμιστῆς εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἡλατο γῆς·
ξίφος ὃξυ τὴν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐπιταγὴν σου φέρων·
καὶ στὰς ἐπλήρωσεν τὰ πάντα θανάτου·
καὶ οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἤπτετο, βεβήκει δ' ἐπὶ γῆς.

Sap. Sol. xviii., 15 *sqq.*

that is to say :—

“Thine all-powerful Logos leapt down from Heaven, from out the royal throne, a warrior severe, upon the doomed land. He bare the sharp sword of thy all-sincere appointment ; he stood and filled all things with death : he touched the heaven while walking on the earth.”

This very striking passage has naturally caught the attention of the critics : two points especially are emphasised : first, that Wisdom has here been replaced by the Logos ; second, that the whole passage is highly poetical in character.

Now with regard to the first point it is clear that, in some respect, the sequence of the interpretation of the Biblical incidents has been broken. Sophia, who has been engaged in miscellaneous acts of saving grace towards Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, etc., now seems to move to one side of the picture and to give place to the Logos, who appears as the destroying angel of the Exodus. But the displacement is only in appearance, for the expression

ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος

taken with the description of Wisdom in c. 7 as a πνεῦμα παντοδύναμον and as one who πάντα δύναται, shows that the Logos is really the Wisdom after all, and that in the mind of the writer the Angel of Destruction is

ἡ παντοδύναμός σου Σοφία.

The Word has occupied the place of the Wisdom because it is none other than the Wisdom.

To this position, which implies that there was no sharp distinction between the two terms,¹ and that one is definitely reminiscent of the other, the objection arises that, since the Destroying Angel is spoken of in Warrior terms, as *πολεμιστής* and as bearing weapons of War, it was necessary that a masculine symbol should be employed, and that Sophia could not have been in the mind of the writer. The objection may, however, be at once met in the following manner.

The popular conception of Athena, is, to the Greek mind, precisely this warrior form. She was born *πολεμιστής*, she emerged from the brain of Zeus fully armed. In fact her military equipment appears to antedate her mental qualities. The oldest of her sanctuaries are military centres. For example, Farnell points out,² "Alalcomenae in Boetia, one of the oldest cities that cherished the worship, and that arose by means of it, is itself a name derived from Athena 'Αλαλκομένη, 'the helper in battle.'" "As a goddess of War she appears conspicuous in Homer and Hesiod, 'the dread goddess, the arouser of the battle, the leader of the host, who delighteth in the din of strife and in the contest.' It is she who marshals the ranks in company with Ares in the relief-work on the shield of Achilles."

And as to her appearance in full armour, with weapon in hand, and dancing the Pyrrhic war-dance, we have constant reference in the Greek poetic literature; this brings us to our second point, that the passage with the Logos as Destroying Angel is a poetical conception. We will assume, then, that the fully armed Sophia was the proper antecedent for an expression of the Destroying Angel, for she had military affinities, whereas the Logos had none. What do we learn, then, from the poetical structure of the passage? We see clearly that

¹ Grimm says the same (p. 363) "dem ebenso gut als der Untergang der Aegypter in rothen Meere (c. 10, 18) hätte auch das Sterben der Erstgeburt auf die Wirksamkeit der Sophia (mit welcher unter obiger Voraussetzung der Logos identisch wäre) zurückgeführt werden können, da ja die Alexandrinische Lehre vom Logos oder der Sophia nicht in solche dogmatische Fesseln gezwängt war, dass ihre Anhänger in Ableitung alttestamentlicher Thatsachen von der Wirksamkeit jener göttlicher Wesen hätten einstimmig seyn müssen."

² *Cults of the Greek States*, I. 308.

we have more than merely Hebrew poetry before us : it is not a question of parallel stanzas, even if such should be involved and employed ; the terms used to describe the onslaught of the Avenger are borrowed from Greek poetry ; they are to be paralleled not merely from the Psalms or the Proverbs, but from Homer and Hesiod and Pindar.

It was Grimm who, in his valuable commentary on the *Wisdom of Solomon*, made this poetical substructure spring to light. He noticed the word ἄλλεσθαι used of the descending angel, and remarked that it was a classical word for the onslaught of the warrior : “wird auch bei den Klassikern von kriegerischem Anläufen gebraucht : Hom. *Il.* xx. 353 ; xxi. 174.” Then he dropt his clue and went off to find the destroying angel in the first book of Chronicles (1 Chron. xxi. 16). But he noted a parallel to the Almighty Word, whose form reached from earth to heaven in the description of Eris in *Iliad*, iv. 443,

οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει,

and the parallel form of Virgil's *Rumour*, of whom it is said that

“Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.”

That he was on the right track may be seen from the way in which later commentators absorb his quotations.¹ So we may return and pick up the thread which he let fall. Any Homeric scholar would be struck by the expression

εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἤλατο γῆς

especially when followed by ξίφος ὃξὺ φέρων. He would recall the Homeric phrase so constantly recurring,

σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χάμαζε.

For the descent out of heaven, he would recall the flight of Thetis on her return from Olympus,

εἰς ἄλα ἄλτο βαθεῖαν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου.

For the sudden leap from a seated position, he would quote the god of the underworld,

δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο καὶ ἴαχε

It is even possible that this repeated Homeric ἄλτο imagined to

¹ A closer parallel would be the Orphic fragments, where Zeus is described as follows :—

οὗτος γὰρ χαλκείον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται,
χρυσέω, εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε.

underlie the ἤλατο of our text, might furnish an emendation to Homer himself ; in *Iliad*, i. 194 Athena appears on the scene suddenly, to mitigate the wrath of Achilles : the text says,

Ἐλκετο δ' ἐκ κολέοιο μέγα ξίφος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη
Οὐρανόθεν.

Who does not see that ἦλθεν is too tame a word for the motion of the intervening war goddess ; we expect, in connection with the sequent Οὐρανόθεν the phrase ἄλτο δ' Ἀθήνη : that would be an excellent parallel to the Biblical language.

Without venturing further on the critical audacity of the correction of the Homeric text, we can show from Homer himself that the proper terms to describe Athena's motion are as saltatory as those of the Biblical text. In *Iliad*, iv. 74, we have an actual descent of Athena from Olympus into the Greek camp. She flashes down like a falling star from the zenith,

τῷ εἰκυῖ ἦιξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Πάλλας Ἀθήνη
καδ' δ' ἔθορ' ἐς μέσσον.

Here we have all the necessary terms for illustrating our text, the sudden leap, the descent upon the earth, the appearance in the midst. Clearly it is Athena who, as Sophia, is the destroying Angel. The terms, which describe the flight of the goddess in her shining armour, become conventional in Greek poetry : we may compare Apollonius Rhodius,

ἦμος ὅτ' ἐκ πατρὸς κεφαλῆς θόρε παμφαίνουσα,
(*Argon.* iv., 1306).

and the Homeric *Hymn to Athena*, where again we have the full armour, the flying leap, the gleaming splendour,

τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγένετο μητιέτα Ζεὺς,
Σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμῆία τεύχε' ἔχουσιν¹
Χρύσεια παμφανοῶντα . . .
ἣ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
Ἔσσυμένως ὥρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,
Σείσας' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα.

and we must not forget the great passage in Pindar,

ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν
χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία
κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν
ἀνορούσαις ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμακεῖ βοᾷ.

(*Ol.* vii. 35 *sqq.*).

¹ This is from Hesiod, *Theog.*, 945 who also makes Athena born as warrior.

The foregoing passages have doubtless affected the description of the Martial Athena which we find in Tzetzes' commentary on *Lycophron*:

Πάλλας δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ παρὰ τὸ πάλλειν ὄπλα,
πολεμικὴ γὰρ ἐν τῷ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ
Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἐξέθορε τὰ ὄπλα κινούσα.

(Tzetzes in *Lyc.*, 355).

We certainly do not need to labour further the identification of Athena with the Destroying Angel in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. The Logos is Sophia and Sophia is Athena.

We now pass on to employ the result arrived at in the further elucidation of the text of our Apocryphal writer. We have shown that he has Olympus in his mind when he talks of Sophia; and it has been seen that his conception of the Olympians is Stoic and Pantheistic.

We have shown elsewhere the way in which the Stoics employed etymological methods in order to escape from the anthropomorphisms of the popular theology. For instance in the passage just quoted from Tzetzes, Pallas is said to be so called from her brandishing her weapons (πάλλειν). But the Stoics go one further; they say that the brandishing is really the vibration of the æther, which is itself Athena, so that the goddess and her armour are reduced to a single physical symbol. For example, in the Clementine writings, which are a storehouse of Stoic teaching, we are told that the æther is in ceaseless palpitation which begets intelligence, and is called on that account Pallas (πάλλεσθαι). *And this Pallas is the artist Wisdom*, by which the ethereal artificer made the world (see Clem. Hom. vi. 8). Thus Athena disappeared, and Sophia came on the scene, almost in Biblical terms.

The Stoics went again a step further in etymology; they were not content with deducing Athena from the æther; they tried to connect her with the conception of immortality and the bestowal of the same. Athena now is explained as ἀθάνατος. The Clementine writer knew the explanation. "Jove," he says, "from his head begat Sophia, who is called by the Greeks Athene, because of immortality (i.e. ἀ + θνήσκω = Ἀθήνη): and she is said to have formed and beautified the world by the mingling of the elements, because the All-Father created her by His Wisdom, and she is said to have been born of his very head and in the foremost rank" (Clem. Recog. x. 33). The passage is interesting on account of the equation between Athena

and Sophia, and the assignment of creative, or at least constructive powers to them both.

Turning, then, to the question of Athena as immortal and immortalising, we find it is one of the characteristics of the goddess to bestow the heavenly gift upon mortals.¹ Gruppe suggests² that this is one of her earliest functions and one upon which special emphasis was laid. Very good! now let us turn to Pseudo-Solomon and see what he says on the matter.

In his prayer for unity with the Divine Wisdom he says that

Through her *I shall attain immortality,*

And I shall leave an eternal remembrance to them that come after me.

(*Sap. Sol.* VIII. 13).

Again :—

These things I meditated with myself

And thought over them in my heart,

To wit, that *immortality* consists in *kinship with Wisdom.*

(*Sap. Sol.* VIII. 17).

It appears then that immortality is conferred by Wisdom in the thought of the writer, which is an excellent adaptation of the Greek mythological doctrine. Now let us take another parallel. It is well known that Athena was, to the Greeks, the patroness of the mechanical arts. She is known as *ἐργάνη*, the artisan. Weaving, for instance, she is the inventress of, and in her honour the Athenian maidens wove each year a new peplos for the goddess. But she was also closely connected with another Athenian art—that of ship-building. When the *Argo* was first planned and launched, she presided over the operations, so that the ship might even have been named after her : and certainly the building of a ship is as noble a conception as the weaving of a jacket. It is interesting to notice that our Solomon has a section of ship-building and sea-voyaging leading up to the case of the ark of Noah. He thinks that men venture on ship-board under the lure of gain, but, says he, it was the artist Wisdom that fashioned the ship in which they sail :—

ἐκεῖνο (sc. τὸ πλοῖον) μὲν γὰρ ὄρεξις πορισμοῦ
ἐπενόησεν· τεχνίτης δὲ Σοφία κατεσκεύασεν.

(*Sap. Sol.* XIV. 2).

¹ E.g. Herakles, Diomedes, Tydeus, Erichthonios.

² *Gr. Mythologie*, p. 1216.

Here again we see the overlapping of functions between Athena and Sophia ; the natural explanation of which coincidence is that Athena and Sophia are one and the same, the former being Wisdom as seen from a Stoic angle, the latter from the Semitic or Semi-Semitic point of view. In the *Wisdom of Solomon* we are in part dependent upon the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and we must reserve the possibility that the description of Sophia as *τεχνίτις* may be derived from thence ; as in the passage where she is described (following one interpretation) as a master-workman, chief workman or architect. There is, however, nothing in the eighth chapter of Proverbs to suggest the Divine Wisdom as a ship-builder.

Now let us turn to another point. We have, in the seventh chapter of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, amongst the terms that describe the Divine Wisdom, the title of Monogenēs, or only-begotten, and as this is the title given to Christ in the *Prologue to John*, and we have shown abundantly the dependence of the Prologue upon the Sapiential books, it is hardly possible to avoid the deduction that the evangelical phrase

The Only-Born Son in the bosom of the Father,

has been written over an earlier statement which described Wisdom as

The Only-Born daughter in the bosom of the Father.

This was clearly seen by our sage and serious poet Spenser when, in his *Hymn to Heavenly Beautie*, he wrote

There in His bosome Sapience doth sit
The soueraine dearling of the Deitie.

Certainly it is no small illumination to be able to explain the mysterious expression in the *Prologue*. But what did the original writer mean by calling Sophia by the title Monogenēs ? Is it genuine Greek philosophy, and is it Stoic ? Is it Athena again that stands behind Sophia ? Does she ever have such a title ? Was it appropriate to her ?

The answer to these questions is partly easy and partly obscure. It is certainly true that Athena is described as Monogenēs in the *Orphic Hymns*.¹

Equally clear is it that the term would be exactly suited to her peculiar birth from the head of Zeus. We do not need the explanation that *Monogenēs* means unique, or the only one of its kind. The

¹ *Orph. H.*, 32¹.

birth itself may be involved in the term and the manner of the birth. The explanation would be complete, and we might annotate the term as being used of Athene in Greek religious poetry; but here we stumble upon a serious difficulty. The same term is used in Hesiod and in the *Orphic Hymns* to describe Hecate, Demeter and Persephone;¹ and it is reasonable to make a similar explanation of its employment in all these different cases. That consideration would negative the idea that Monogenēs was a term describing the *birth* of Athena, considered as unique. It does not contradict the fact that Athena herself was so described, and we may go as far as to say that in the use of the term Sophia is Athena, even if we do not see clearly why the term is so used. It cannot be a term that describes Zeus, and there is no competition for its use in the *Wisdom of Solomon* for Demeter or Hecate. Upon the whole we may say that the evidence is becoming clearer which identifies Sophia with Athena on the one hand, and with Christ on the other. The three will meet very harmoniously in the verse where Sophia “extends from marge to marge,” for here we have the very description of Athena, and the recognition by theologians that Christ, the Wisdom of God, is involved in the passage. St. Thomas Aquinas puts the case for us in a sentence:—

“Christus, qui est Dei Sapientia, suaviter et convenienter disponit omnia, ut dicitur, Sap. 8.” (*Summa Theol.*, Pt. iii., qu. LV., art. 6).

Christ, then, is Wisdom, and Wisdom is Athena.²

¹ *Orph. H.*, 29, 2, 40, 16; Hesiod, *Theog.*, 426, 428.

² It is interesting to note that Dante, who follows Aquinas in the identification of Christ with the Wisdom of God, reduces the Trinity to the three terms—

Power, Wisdom and Love.

In the inscription over the portal of the Inferno is inscribed—

Fecemi la divina Potestate

La summa Sapienza e il primo Amore;

upon which Scartazzini notes—

“circoscrive la S. S. Trinità, secondo la massima Teologica: *opera ad extra sunt totius Trinitatis*:—

“La Potestate e Dio Padre;

“La Sapienza il Verbo ossia il Figliuolo;

“L'Amore lo Spirito Santo.

In confirmation of which the reference is given to Dante, *Convito*, II. 6. Puotesi contemplare la *potenza* somma del Padre, la *summa sapienza* del Figliuolo, e la *Summa* e ferventissima *carità* dello Spirito Santo.”

(I owe the reference to my friend W. C. Braithwaite).

This identification of Athena and the Logos was known to Justin Martyr who makes a protest against it in his *Apology*. "They wickedly," says he, "affirmed that Athena was the daughter of Zeus, born without carnal intercourse, but, when they came to know that God, by process of thought (ἐννοηθέντα) made the world through Reason (διὰ λόγου) then they affirmed that the first thought-product (ἐννόημα) was Athena" (1 Ap. 64). In his usual manner Justin, who wishes to get rid of the pagan personification of Wisdom, explains that she has been substituted for the genuine article, just as the miracles of Asklepios have been written over the correct Biblical material. It is clear that Justin, in arguing for Christianity in a Hellenic environment, found Athena in possession when he wanted to say *Logos*. He promptly serves her with notice to quit: but, as we have seen from our study of the Sapiential literature, she is not so easily removed. After all, she had Pheidias to lean upon, and Judaism had never produced an artist!

We shall be asked, perhaps, whether, if we are so sure of the influence of Stoic philosophy and theology upon the *Wisdom of Solomon*, we can be certain that there is no such influence, operating in a similar manner, upon the eighth chapter of Proverbs. It is curious that we have in the Hebrew literature, Jahveh and his dear daughter Wisdom as a parallel to Zeus and his dear daughter Athena. There is, too, a certain likeness between the Stoic definition of God as 'an artistic fire, walking in the way towards the creation of the world,'¹ and the passage in which Wisdom affirms that 'the Lord created me in the beginning of his way before his works of old.' On the other hand, the Stoic expression is itself so obscure, that, if it is original Greek, we have failed to understand it, and the Hebrew of Proverbs appears to be genuine Hebrew. So, for the present, at any rate, we may leave the Proverbial Wisdom in possession, without giving her a literary ancestor.

Now let us ask whether the results of the foregoing enquiry have any influence upon the Gospel itself, either as regards the text or its interpretation. We started from the Prologue to the Gospel, and having discovered its primitive form as a Hymn to Sophia, with

¹ Cf. Diog. Laert., VII. 1, 84: τὴν μὲν φύσιν εἶναι πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῶ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν κόσμου; Cic. *De. Nat. Deor.*, where φύσις is defined as 'ignem artificiosum ad gignendum progredientem.'

antecedents in the Sapiential literature of the Old Testament, we return to the Prologue again, bringing our sheaves of investigation with us.

Our first question will relate to the term *Monogenēs*, used of the Logos in the Prologue, of Sophia in the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, and of Athena and other divinities in the Orphic Hymns. What does it mean? Is it an only child that is being described, or a child of unique character, or (to make a suggestion which we believe is quite new) is there any possibility that Monogenēs Athena, like Pontogenēs Aphrodite, means the child of one parent only?

As we pointed out, our difficulty arises from the fact that in Hesiod and in the Orphic Hymns, the use of the word appears to be somewhat colourless. It has to cover Hekate, Demeter, Persephone, and Artemis, as well as Athena. At all events, these are all feminine, and that suggests that there is some feminine term which connects them together. The suggestion is that the term in question is *Κόρη* ('maid'). In the Orphic system there is a great confusion between the personalities of the leading goddesses. Lobeck, in his *Aglaophamus*¹ refers to a passage in Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus*¹ in which Proclus says that the Theologos (i.e. Orpheus) was in the habit of giving to Korē the title of *Μουνογενεΐα* but, at the same time, of coupling another goddess with her in the use of that title, and Lobeck says that, in his opinion, the second reference was to Hekate, who is described by Hesiod as *Μουνογενής*.² But he also points out, again from Proclus,³ that we have to discourse of Diana, Proserpina and Hekatē together, because Orpheus and the followers of Plato confuse them. Proclus' language is as follows:—

ὅτι πολλή ἡ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἐγκόσμον
Ἑκάτην ἔνωσις, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν Κόρην, φανερόν τοις
καὶ ὀλίγα τῷ Ὀρφεῖ παραβεβληκόσιν.

Here we have three of our goddesses grouped together in an Orphic unity, and the natural suggestion is that in Orphic circles each was *Κόρη* and each *Μουνογενής*. But where is Athena in this connection? For it is maid Athena that we are in search of. Clearly she is subject to the same classification. Accordingly Lobeck says: quoting Proclus in *Crat.*, p. 100, where Artemis, Korē and Athena are grouped in an Orphic unity, that the only thing that can be deduced from the language is that Athena shares the title 'maid' with Proserpine and

¹ II. 139.

² *Theog.* 426.

³ In *Crat.* p. 112.

Artemis. The same thing is evidently true in the Orphic hymns of the title *Monogenēs*. It is a common title of a group of goddesses. Now this at once raises a further difficulty, in that it is not possible to apply the title to the group in the sense which is commonly given to the word. Athena might be Only-Born but not Artemis, who was a twin : Persephone might be Only-Born, but not Demeter. Nor can we attach the meaning 'born of a single parent' to the word *Monogenēs* ; that would suit Athena, but not Artemis or Persephone. We are in this position then, that there is a meaning to the title which is eluding us. The suggestion arises that we have been trading too much with etymology ; the word simply means 'darling,' or as we say, Dear One. It is a hyperbolic expression of affection, which need not be interpreted by taking the word to pieces.

So much for the meaning of the term, and now for a few remarks as to the text.

In the Prologue to John, in each case where the term *Monogenēs* occurs, there is a bifurcation in the reading or a difficulty as to the interpretation.

In *v.* 14 we have the expression used of the Logos that it has a glory *μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός* and the editors are at a loss whether to write father with a capital F, or only-born with a capital O. The Revisers of the N.T. have decorated their margin with the school-boy translation

'an only-begotten from a father,'

but without giving a hint as to why such a person should have glory predicated of him. Nestlé suggests a small 'o' and a capital F, which would give us in the parallel case a single Zeus, and a group of Athenas. Evidently both the words in question are anarthrous, and the right rendering is

'glory as of the Only-Born of the Father.'

The Father in the original statement of the Hymn is either Jahveh or Zeus, the Only-Born is either the Sophia of Proverbs or Athena.

The other passage is in *v.* 18 where reference is made to 'the Only-Born Son in the bosom of the Father,' with the variant 'Only-Born God.' Here, if ever, we have a case of the harder reading, *μονογενῆς θεός*, and here, if ever, one's first instinct is to revolt against what is called the canon of the harder reading. It is well known that this is one of the cases which Hort selected as a trial of strength : he

wrote a monograph to prove that *μονογενὴς θεός* was the right reading. Thayer remarks on it in his lexicon that it is "foreign to John's mode of thought and speech, dissonant and harsh, and appears to owe its origin to a dogmatic zeal which broke out soon after the early days of the Church." I must confess that the expression does seem to be non-Johannine, and so harsh as to be almost unintelligible : but then one recalls that, if there is a previous document or series of documents involved, the language and thought need not be Johannine. Let us ask the questions whether the terms may not be Orphic ; we are quite sure about *Μονογενής* ; what about *Μονογενὴς θεός* ? The Hymn to Athena begins

Πάλλας μουννογενές, μεγάλου Διὸς ἔκγονε σεμνή.

That suggests an 'only-born child' with the thought of Deity in the context : suppose we turn to the Hymn in honour of Persephone : it begins thus

*Περσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διὸς, ἐλθὲ μάκαιρα,
Μουννογενεῖα θεά.*

Here the very expression 'Only-born God' is actually in use ; and if it is intelligible in the case of Persephone (who is, it will be remembered, grouped Orphically with Athena), then there is no reason why it should not have passed into the Prologue to John from the Hymn to Sophia out of which the Prologue was developed. In that case Dr. Hort's criticism would be justified, and his reading be removed from the region of apparent improbabilities. It meant originally and as used by St. John, "the dear God in the bosom of the Father."

So much for Orphism, and the Sapiential literature, and the Prologue to St. John. It is by the Orphic elements in the appropriated and transformed Hymn to Wisdom that we are able to explain the peculiar abruptness in the closing words of the *Prologue* (John i. 18). Why does John introduce the dogma that 'No one has ever seen God' ? The answer is that it is one of the commonest metric tags in the Orphic literature : it is found in the following form in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 12, p. 693)

*οὐδέ τις αὐτόν
εἰσοράα θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾷται.*

and the same quotation occurs in Ps. Justin : *Cohort.* vii. p. 63, in each case the reference being to Orpheus or to Orpheus as ὁ θεολόγος.

We infer, then, the influence of this metrical passage upon the

Wisdom Hymn. The discontinuity in the Gospel arises from the fact of its not being a first-hand composition. May we not also say that it is to the recognised use of Orphic material that we owe the title of *Theologos* which has been given to St. John in the Christian tradition ? For if, as the Catacomb paintings show, it was possible to regard Christ as Orpheus, it was equally possible in the field of literature to regard John as *Theologos*.

P.S. Since writing the above, I see the report in the *Hibbert Journal* for January 1922, that in the *Rivista trimestrale di Studi Filosofici* (pp. 163-172) a suggestion is made by Signor Motzo that the literary source for the metaphor of the descending Logos in *Wisdom* XVIII. is the passage in the first book of the *Iliad*, where Phoebus Apollo descends in anger from Olympus, to strike death into the Greek camps.

Here is the passage in the prose-rendering of Lang, Leaf and Myers :—

“Phoebus Apollo heard him, and came down from the Peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. And the arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath as the god moved ; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly ; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow. First did he assail the mules and fleet dogs, but afterward, aiming at the men, his piercing dart he smote ; and the pyres of the dead burnt continually in multitude.”

No doubt the Italian scholar is on the right track in looking for the descending Logos in the pages of Homer ; but there is no initial parallel between Apollo and the Logos to invite Homeric reference, and we have shown that the destroying angel is Athena and not Apollo.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

1. Professor Souter points out to me that the connection between the Christian dogmas and the Stoic philosophy had been already pointed out by Tertullian, in his *Apologeticus* : “Apud vestros quoque sapientes λόγον, id est Sermonem atque Rationem, constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat facitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit, eundem et fatum vocari, et decum et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum. Haec Cleanthes in spiritum congerit, quem permeatorem universitatis affirmat” (*Apol.* c. 21).

2. The connection between Athena and Sophia comes out very clearly when the Parthenon ceases to be a pagan building, and is transferred to Christian uses. It then becomes, first a temple of the Holy Wisdom, and next a shrine of the Virgin Mary.

"The Capucins in their plan of Athens, 1669, speak of the Parthenon as dedicated to St. Sophia, while the Jesuit Babui in 1672 refers to it as the temple of *la Sagesse Eternelle*" (see D'ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, New York, 1908, p. 306 and p. 341).

ELEVEN LETTERS OF JOHN SECOND EARL OF
LAUDERDALE (AND FIRST DUKE), 1616-1682,
TO THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER (1615-1691).

EDITED BY FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

INTRODUCTION.

THESE letters are preserved in the collection of Baxter MSS. at Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London. Mr. Orme (Baxter's biographer) knew of them and quotes (p. 645) from one of them (the 2nd). Moreover, someone—anonymous—copied (with modern spelling) and printed the last nine of them in the "Monthly Repository" vol. xviii., January-December, 1823.

The period covered is seventeen months, October, 1657 to March, 1659—less than one a month. For the last year of the Earl's imprisonment there are none. What became of Baxter's replies, is not known. Perhaps Lauderdale did not care to keep them or could not.

After the battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651)¹ he was captured, along with the Earl of Derby, by Colonel Edge (S.P.D., 1651, p. 459) and lodged in Chester Castle (id., p. 437). By order of Council, ratified by Parliament and the Lord General (id., pp. 422, 423, 427, 430, 433), he was brought up to London by a party of horse under command of Colonel Lilburne, and committed "close prisoner to the Tower" to be "made an example of Justice." The date of his committal was October 2 (id., 1654, p. 273). On July 27, 1653, he petitioned the Council for more liberty "on account of loss of health;" and on Oct. 22 a committee of three was appointed to confer with the Lieutenant of the Tower and "to consider what is fit to be allowed" (id., 1653-4, pp. 53, 211). In Sep., 1654, it appears as if he narrowly escaped banishment (with the Earl of Crawford and others) by order of Cromwell (id., 1654, p. 353). On May

¹ On Lauderdale's career, as a whole, see article (John Maitland) in D.N.B. Baillie's "Letters and Journals" are the chief authority on him for the years before 1651; and the Lauderdale Papers (3 vols., Camden Society), for the years after 1660.

21, 1655 (Gardiner, "History of the Commonwealth," vol. iii., p. 162), he was removed to Portland Castle (S.P.D., 1655, p. 275), where he lay "20 months almost sequestrat from the converse of rational creatures (except the charitable visits of some honest ministers)." His transfer to Windsor Castle, therefore, may be dated about April, 1656. On September 2, 1658, the day before the Protector's death, a warrant in the name of Protector and Council was issued to Col. Whichcott to have him away to Warwick Castle, and another to the Governor of the Castle to keep him prisoner there "till further order" (S.P.D., 1658-9, p. 579). Two days later the order was revoked (id., p. 130); and the letter to Baxter of Sep. 23 attributes this to the influence of his wife. In the same letter he mentions the "want of money (a disease I have been long under)" as a grievous inconvenience. All his property had been confiscated. Everything—he says in the letter of Aug. 17, 1658—had gone from him except his Library which is 'safe' 'beyond sea.' His wife, also, seems to have been in straitened circumstances. In a petition to the Protector of August 9th, 1655, she speaks of her condition as "exceeding sad," having lost "all means of subsistence and the comforts of this life by her husband being sent away to Portland Castle"¹ (S.P.D., 1655, pp. 274-5). But, on the whole, both he and his wife were well treated. After Nov. 1654, if not before, he received £5 a week—though not always paid; and after her petition it was ordered on August 24th that *she* should receive £600 a year "free from all debt and incumbrances from her husband" "and to be paid out of the public revenue" if her husband's estates could not yield it (id., p. 298).² Moreover, unless the permission granted on March 12, 1652 (S.P.D., 1651, p. 177) was subsequently cancelled, she "with her daughter and two maids" had "liberty to repair to the Earl of Lauderdale, prisoner in the Tower, at their discretion." Another order of March 25 gave him personally "the liberty of the Tower" (id., p. 193). And it is evident from these letters that his movements were not very narrowly restricted either at Portland or Windsor. He could receive visitors;

¹ This implies that her husband had not been penniless before May, 1655, which may be explained by the fact that on Nov. 15, 1654, and again on April 17, 1655, the Council had granted him a weekly maintenance of £5 (S.P.D., 1654, p. 457; 1655, p. 128).

² The addition—"also the 1½ years of her pension of £400" points to some sort of malversation.

he could get books from London and abroad ; he could correspond with his friends and others ; he could even, it would seem, spend a day "in looking for a book" at Eton (letter of Sep. 20, 1658). Considering how deeply he had been implicated in what for the Government was treacherous or treasonable conduct, the wonder is that he missed the Earl of Derby's fate.¹ He seems to have realized this himself, and to have been careful not to play into the hands of watchful enemies—particularly one unnamed "person" (letter of Aug. 17, 1658)—by any kind of meddling with public affairs. He was wiser "than to keep the least dangerous correspondence." What he wrote about was "onely of bookes and not of news w^{ch} I leave to the newsbookes, as being none of my business"² (letter of Nov. 24, 1658). This is true of the Baxter correspondence. Of books he exhibits a wide knowledge and describes or discusses them with a keen pen. He finds his chief recreation in reading, and Baxter is a "minister of heartsease" when he sets him a task which will occupy weeks of his monotonous life in translating, or condensing, hundreds of pages from a great French folio. But, however intently he may listen to the rumour of events outside, he sets down little or nothing with regard to them. Nothing, in fact, beyond two or three safe sentences as to the consequences of the King of Sweden's invasion of Poland (letter of Nov. 24, 1658) or as to the Protector Richard's "calling of a Parliament" (letter of Jany. 26th, 165⁸₉).

The correspondence started from a visit to Lauderdale in October, 1657, of Rev. James Sharp.³ Mr. Osmund Airy prints a letter of

¹ If it be true that Cromwell intervened for him and did so under the influence of Lady Dysart (afterwards Lauderdale's second wife), this explains more things than one. See vol. i., p. 233, of "Miscellany of the Scottish Historical Society" (1893). The editor, Bishop Dowden, thinks there is "no doubt of the strong personal influence exerted on O. Cromwell by this clever and beautiful woman ;" and that her claim to have moved Cromwell to save Lauderdale's life after the battle of Worcester "did not go beyond the truth."

² Dec. 17, 1653, he tells Bailie ("Letters," vol. iii., p. 230) that he does not meddle with "anything of publick concern."

³ Afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was still in London on October 13th. He has "nothing more to do in London," meditating "a speedy return"—when he has done what he can "for the service of your honest men" (Lauderdale, etc.). "Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., p. 247.

Sharp's to the Earl dated the 28th of the previous April ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., app.). He was then in London doing his best to counteract the influence of Warriston and other agents of the Remonstrant, or strict covenanting, party with the Government. In that letter he speaks of "a little peece" which he had sent to his lordship¹ and which the latter had been "pleased to take such notice of"—"though I had not the happiness to be much known to you." He goes on to say that he will not anticipate by writing what further he has to say about "the necessity of publishing that peece," but will wait until "the opportunity wished for will allow me to wait on your Lordship." His visit to Windsor in October was the fulfilment of that wish and is not recorded—so far as I know—elsewhere than in Lauderdale's first letter to Baxter. Perhaps it may be taken as the beginning of that close mutual understanding and co-operation which had great results for Scotland in the next few years.

Was Sharp's visit to Windsor not merely the occasion but also the cause of Lauderdale's first letter to Baxter? In other words, was the motive behind it a concerted design to 'sound' Baxter and (if possible) secure him for the moderatist policy? There is something suggestive of this in the stress it lays upon "that fellow-feeling w^{ch} in many places you are pleased to express of the sufferings of poor afflicted Scotland." And, if so, the effort was both legitimate and well worth while. For Baxter was reputed (though not quite truly) to be a firm Presbyterian; and was known to be an outspoken loyalist; and, besides, was by far the man of widest influence among his fellow-ministers—not to mention the general public. Moreover, there is indirect evidence that the effort may have served its turn. It is certain, at any rate, that, from about this time, Baxter concentrated his mind on quiet ways and means of preparing his brethren for the King's restoration and a Presbyterian system, if Providence gave the sign (R.B., Pt. i., p. 71; Pt. ii., p. 215). But, however, it might be with Sharp, it is not easy to think of Lauderdale's motive as wholly or even chiefly political. Taken as a whole his letters yield the impression of a man who was really actuated by sincere gratitude to Baxter and reverence for his character and desires to serve him.

¹ Probably "a True Representation of the Rise, Progress and State of the Present Divisions of the Church of Scotland"—recently written by Rev. James Wood. See "R. Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., pp. 346, 354.

We know now of his gross duplicities before 1651 and of his swift degeneration after 1660. We know this better than Baxter had the means of doing. But was he altogether mistaken in his man? Was it true, as Mr. Osmund Airy says, that before, no less than after, 1660, the whole course of his life was "a carefully arranged hypocrisy?" May it not be nearer the truth to hold that the mixed elements of his nature depended for their expression, as is usually the case, on the character of his moral environment? that, in his first period, he lived under influences which appealed at once to his ambition, his loyalty, his cunning? that, in his second period (1651-1660) the main appeal was to that better self which had been crowded out so far; but was quickened into newness of life by Baxter's influence? and that, in his third, the better self became finally submerged by the impact of evil forces which assailed him, *en masse*, at his weakest points? Anyhow, over against Mr. Airy's dogmatic and absolute condemnation it is a fact to remember that Baxter never lost faith in him. He wrote solemn words of warning to him ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii., app.) when there seemed to be a call for them; but he refused to believe what his enemies said against him, or even what many others took for granted. He asked for evidence; and apparently the evidence did not satisfy him; for, years after that letter which Mr. Airy cites as if it were Baxter's last word, we find him still proud to associate his name with one of his own books,¹ and still defending his friendship with him.² In view of this one of two things must be said. Either Baxter was a flatterer of vice for selfish reasons, or there was, to the end of Lauderdale's life, something good in him which Baxter had the gift to see or which showed itself to Baxter. Since the former is incredible, we may be glad to believe the latter.

The following are the references in Baxter's Autobiography (R.B.) to his acquaintance with Lauderdale later than 1659.

The Earl obtained his liberty in March, 1600. A month afterwards (April 13) Baxter came up to London—"where I was no

¹ "Full and Easy Satisfaction which is the True and Safe Religion . . ." 1674, dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale.

² R.B., Pt. iii., p. 180.

sooner arrived but I was accosted by the Earl of Lauderdale . . . who having heard from some of the Sectarian Party that my Judgment was that our obligations to *Richard Cromwell* were not dissolved nor could be till another Parliament or a fuller renunciation of the Government took a great deal of pains with me to satisfie me in that point" (R.B. Pt. ii., p. 215).

In July, 1660, Baxter preached before the King as Chaplain in ordinary ; and " after sermon it pleased his majesty to send the Lord Chamberlain to require me to print it. And the Earl of Lauderdale told me that when he spake to the King of the great number of Citizens that wrote it in characters and said that some of them would publish it, the King answered *I will prevent that for I will have it published.*" In this way Baxter was able to confute Dr. Thomas Pierce who " went up and down " raging against him for his impudence in preaching such a sermon, and daring to print it as by His Majesty's command, and to " call " himself " on the Title-page, His *Majesty's Chaplain* " (R.B., ii., p. 279).

In the same year (November) Lauderdale was an emissary from the King to summon Baxter " next day " to his presence—his purpose being, as it turned out, to conciliate him towards the policy of the Bishops (R.B., Pt. ii. p. 286).

Nearly 10 years later (mostly spent by Baxter away from London)—on occasion of his new book " The Cure of Church-Divisions," " and a rumour of " his " conforming "—" The Earl of Lauderdale," he writes, " invited me to speak with him : Where he opened to me the purpose of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience and all Compositions of Conformity *in Scotland*, save only that it should be necessary to sit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators (there being already no Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Subscription save only to the Doctrine of the Church). Hereupon he expressed his great kindness to me and told me he had the King's consent to speak with me, and being going into *Scotland*, he offered me what place in *Scotland* I would choose, either a Church, or a Colledge in the University, or a Bishoprick : And shortly after, as he went, at *Barnet* he sent for me ; and I gave him the Answer following in these Papers, besides what I gave him by word to the same

purpose. But when he came thither, such acts against Conventicles were presently made as are very well worthy the Reader's serious Perusal, who would know the true complexion of this age" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 75).

Baxter was residing at Totteridge near *Barnet*, on the North Road. His written reply is dated June 24th, 1670 : a date between the first and second interview. Lauderdale reached Edinburgh in July.

Before August 27, 1673, after having been "a necessary stranger at the Court" for many years Baxter went there "by another's invitation" to wait on Lauderdale (a Duke since May 3, 1672) and beg him for "Pardon and Clemency" to certain Scotsmen, then "under suffering." This the Duke "readily granted." He also, "consented to" an "epistle Dedicatory" which Baxter proposed to write for his forthcoming book "*Full and Easie Satisfaction which is the true Religion.*" The book came out in 1674 ; but the date of the Dedication is August 27, 1673. The latter was read and approved by the Duke "before it was printed" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 107).

Baxter in thus extolling Lauderdale scandalised public opinion ; and felt it desirable to defend himself (id., p. 180).

Very likely it was at the same interview that the Duke told him of circumstances affecting himself, which had been happening behind the scenes ; and which explained why there had been lately "a little seeming stop" of the "trouble" brought upon him by the King's recall (in the previous spring) of his "Act of Indulgence" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 156).

In connection with the "great change of Affairs in *Scotland*" which followed on the opening of its Parliament on Nov. 12, 1673, Baxter notes the intrigue against Lauderdale which was carried on in London as well as Edinburgh, and how the Duke, with the King's help, managed to hold his own. His sympathy for the Duke is evident (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 147).

It is no less evident in connection with the renewed and more successful attack on Lauderdale by the English Parliament on April 13th, 1675. "His chief accusing witness was Mr. *Burnet*, late Publick-Professor of *Theologie* at *Glasgow*." Burnet's testimony, he says, carried but little weight—nay, was judged "unsavoury and revengefull" because of the "epistle before a published book" in which he

"had lately magnified the said Duke."¹ Possibly the most fulsome thing of its kind in the English language (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 167).

When a warrant was out to apprehend him if he preached again as he had been doing, at a chapel in *Swallow St.* (Nov., 1676), he says "I forbare that day, and after told the *Duke of Lauderdale* of it ; and asked him what it was that occasioned their wrath against me" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 178).

This is the last reference—except the following : after the battle of Bothwell Brig (June 22nd, 1679) "Above 40 Scotsmen (of which 3 Preachers) were by their Council sentenced to be not only banished but sold as servants (called slaves) to the *American Plantations*. They were brought by ship to *London*. Divers citizens offered to pay their Ransom. The King was petitioned for them. I went to the *D(uke) of Lauderdale* ; but none of us could prevail for one man. At last the Ship Master was told that by a Statute it was a Capital Crime to Transport any of the Kings' Subjects out of *England* (where now they were) without their consent, and so he set them on shoar and they all escaped for nothing" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 184).

Lauderdale died at Tunbridge Wells in August, 1682, and was buried at Haddington on April 6th, 1683.

I

Williams's Library—Baxter MSS.—vol. iv., f. 104. Endorsed "*to the Reverend and much Honored Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kidderminster from the Earle of Lauderdaleill.*"

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

It might justly seem ane impertinent presumption, that a person so inconsiderable who never had the happines to see you, whose name perhaps you never heard, and who hath onely served for lynyng to severell jayles now above six yeers, should take up any of that pretious time w^{ch} you so usefully imploy for the generall good, by this address not worth y^r taking notice of : But that temper of spirit w^{ch} I well observ in all y^r wrytings makes me hope you will pardon

¹ His dedication to "A Vindication . . . of the Church and State of Scotland," 1673. He tried his best to suppress it afterwards.

me at least, if I embrace this occasion to expresse my gratitude to you on many accounts. Give leave, Sr, therefor in the first place to acknowledg myself y^r debtor for my share of yo^r charity to mankind— I meane for the good w^{ch} by the grace of God I have gott by y^r most pious and learned Labours : especially yo^r book of Rest¹ w^{ch} I have reason to esteem above all bookes except the Bible, and to bless the Lord that ever I saw it (but I must regrete that it is limited to those onely who doe understand English). I met with it at Portland where I was twenty moneths² . . . almost sequestrat from the convers of rationall creatures (excepting the charitable visites of some honest ministers).³ There I was first acquainted with you. You was there my teacher, my comerad and my freind. Since that time I have constantly maintained that kinde of conversation wth you, and in y^r wrytings I have found another great obligation : it is, Sr, that fellow feeling w^{ch} in many places you are pleased to expresse of the sufferings of poor afflicted Scotland : And I am the more sensible of it, that when feare or interest keeps most men from speaking, and too many even from thinking wth freedome of spirit, you doe openly and fearlessly print y^r sence of that business.⁴ I shall not mention at this distance y^r zeale against armed errors and crimes, nor those faire testimonies (w^{ch} I often finde) to pretious treuths out of fashion, yea dangerous in these times *where error keeps the major vote*. Nor will I presume to give my opinion of yo^r bookes (though none⁵ of them have scaped me, and some of them I have read often and accurately). It were an unpardonable vanity to put such a value on myself, and I am too well acquainted with yo^r humility, to say anything like that base quality of flatterie w^{ch} yo^r spirit is so farr above. Yet I hope you will allow me as a poore member of that afflicted Church (now sitting in the dust

¹ "The Saints Everlasting Rest : or a Treatise of the blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in glory. . . ." The first edition of 1650 was succeeded by the sixth before 1657. Any of these may have been the one that Lauderdale "met with."

² From May 24th, 1655, to end of January or beginning of February, 1657.

³ Two of these were Rev. John Hodder of Hawkchurch and Rev. John White of Dorchester (Baxter's "The Certainty of the world of Spirits," p. 88).

⁴ The reference perhaps is to passages in the "Saints Rest"—e.g., Pt. i., chap. vii., § 14.

⁵ By the end of 1657 Baxter had published some 26 vols.—larger or smaller.

like a widow whom none lookes after)¹ to bless God and thanke you for that oyle you powre into her wounds, those wounds w^{ch} she hath receaved in the hous of a freind.² Once or twies I was honored to act (thogh in much weaknes) by her Comission. Now it hath pleased God gratusly to call me to a greater honor, to suffer with her and in some measure for her. In this day of her affliction, of all the sons she hath broght forth she hath few to take her by the hand. And therefor yo^r great kindenes to her at such a time, layes the greater obligation on all who pray for peace wthin her walls and prosperity in her palaces. It hath been a burden to me to want so long an occasion of making these acknowledgments, and therefor I could not forbear by so sure a bearer, this honest countryman of mine Mr. James Sharp³ who (to me) hath acknowledged the same obligations

¹ Cf. Appendix to "Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., p. 287. Rev. James Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated London, Apryll 28, 1657.

"MY LORD,—I am hope fully there is no sober man who is truly affectit with the condition of that broken and despised church (*now sitting in the dust as a widow whom none looketh after*, and of all the sones whom she hath brought forth hath few to take her by the hand) but hath in precious remembrance your cariage in your publick station; and now when your scene is changed, and your honour in acting turned into a glorious suffering for your conscience, country, and Christ's Church in it, doeth look upon you as a noble sufferer with her and for her. . . ."

The Earl had not forgotten this letter.

² See "R. Baillie's Letters," vol. iii., p. 332 (January 16, 1657).

³ James Sharp (1613-1679). In 1657 he was minister of Creel, Fifeshire, and had been sent up to London by the Resolutioners, or moderate Presbyterian party, to thwart the schemes of Warriston and others who had considerable influence with the Council and Cromwell. According to Baillie ("Letters," vol. iii., p. 352, June 1658) he succeeded. "The great instrument of God, to cross their evil designs has been that very worthie, pious, wise and diligent young man Mr. James Sharp." Two years after the Restoration, however, he wrote (*id.*, p. 484, May 12, 1662). "Poisoned by Dr. Sheldon (Bishop of London) and Dr. Morlay (Bishop of Worcester) 'Mr. Sharp our Agent . . . has peice by peice . . . trepanned us.'"

Sharp's own letters are his most decisive condemnation. "A careful perusal of the whole series" ("Lauderdale Papers," vol. i., pp. 24-97) . . . "will save any future biographer from the temptation of endeavouring to palliate a life of petty weakness such as has seldom been exceeded in history. In the most comprehensive sense of the word Sharp was a knave, *pur sang*, and one who to retain the price of his knavery eagerly submitted to be cajoled, threatened, bullied or ignored, by bolder men as served their turn" (Osmund Airy in *Preface*, p. x). He worked hard for the Episcopacy which he had once forsworn and in 1664 was made Primate of all Scotland.

On May 3, 1679, he was assassinated on Magus Muir in St. Andrews.

to you and esteem of you that I have. He hath undertaken a long journey¹ wth a weake body chiefly to see you. His merits will recomend him best, and I have no reason to expect that my testimonie should add much. Yet the great reverence I have for you makes me hope you will beleeeve me, and treuth doth oblige me to tell you He is a pious and faithful minister. His employment shews his esteem wth honest men in his country. He was my companion in bonds, my fellow prisoner in the Tower.² In a word, he is a Christian indeed, and worthy of yo^r freindship. Were it in my power I should have seen you long ere now, and if ever God grant me so much liberty my first journey shalbe to Kiderminster, if the Lord will. And therefor I am the more bold to intreat that if yo^r occasions call you to London, you wo(u)ld please to Let me see you at Windsor Castle. It is not much out of yo^r way, and it is a charity to a prisoner w^{ch} I desire. It wo(u)ld be a great comfort to me, for my longing to speake with you is better grounded than on curiosity : Therefor I doe assure myself you will not deny me. In the meantime, I beg yo^r prayers, that my condition may more and more be sanctified to me, and (that) I (may be) strengthened to beare without murmuring what the Lord shall measure out for me ; that I may be more quickned to duty and delivered from deadnes of spirit w^{ch} I grone under ; that I may grow in grace and in patient submission to the good will of our Lord wth faithfullnes. Forgive me I beseech you, Sr, for all this trouble, and thogh my condition render me incapable of giving you any real testimonie of my friendship, yet be pleas'd to take my word for it, none honors you more and wishes you better than does

Sir,

Yo^r reall and most affectionat freind and servant,
LAUDERDAILL.³

¹ From Windsor to Kidderminster.

² On August 28th, 1651, he was seized by Cromwell's forces at Alyth, Forfarshire, and carried to London. He remained prisoner in the Tower till April 10th, 1652.

³ This was the traditional spelling of the name and the Earl used it down to June 13, 1674, when he began to write Lauderdale. The change is ascribed to the wish or whim of Lady Dysart. At least there is no traces of it before his marriage with her on Feby. 17, 1672. ("Miscellany of Scottish Historical Society," vol. i., p. 272).

Windsor Castle,
19 October, 1657.

II.

Williams's Library—Baxter MSS.—vol. iv., f. 106, 107. *For the Reverend my much Honored freind, Mr. Richard Baxter minister at Kiderminster. P(er) Birmingham post.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

If I were not very sensible that my Letters are so insignificant, especially to one who knowes much better how to employ his time then in reading and answering them ; secure of yo^r justice w^{ch} will not permitt you to condemne me of neglect for not wryting, I should need many apologies for my long silence, especially since I did receive yo^r last obliging Letter (wthout a date) w^{ch} I gott wth yo^r booke of self denyall long ago, for w^{ch} and for yo^r two last bookes concerning the Catholick Church¹ and Catholick Unity¹ (w^{ch} Mr. Underhill sent me last week) I doe returne you most hearty thanks. One providence I cannot conceale, that when I first got yo^r booke of self denyall into my hand I chanced to open and read the ¹⁸¹/₁₈₀ pages,² w^{ch} I found so calculated to my condition that I could not but observe it and make 2 or 3 freinds take notice of it who were sitting then by me. The reasons of my former silence were much the same with those you mention, and when I consider how basely you was used (for yo^r civility to me) I thought it very unfitt to trouble you wth my Letters w^{ch}, if intercepted, might create you more trouble. You doe well not to misspend time in answering the barkings of those who have of late injured themselves more than you by their scriblings. Yet when you have Leasure it will not be a misse to reprove their insolencie, as you have done a Little in a postscript. I did read wth great satisfaction yo^r

¹ Enlarged from sermons preached, the latter at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, the former at Worcester. Both published in 1657.

² A Treatise of Self-Denyall . . . London, 1660. The epistle dedicatory "To the Honourable Colonel James Berry, one of the Council of State, etc.," is dated Sep. 12, 1659. This is certainly the book to which Lauderdale refers: for the passage on p. 180-1 is, as he says, singularly "calculated to his condition." It is about the power a good man has to rise above the pains of imprisonment, etc. Yet he quotes it in February, 1658, as something he got 'long ago.' This points to an earlier unknown edition. Its opening words are: "I have already spoken of conversion in the foregoing discourse . . ." as if this were an immediate sequel; and the "Treatise of Conversion" was preached *before June 1, 1657*—the date of the dedicatory Letter "to the Inhabitants of the Burrough and Forreign of Kederminster: both Magistrates and People."

most Christian expressions of yo^r fellow feeling of the sufferings of yo^r freinds, and the counsell you give me on that occasion. The zeale you tooke notice of was (I must freely confess) 6 years ago too much calculated for what you bid me take heed of ; but blessed be the Lord I doe now desire to wait for a better harbor than can be expected among the warres. Thogh I thinke there is less danger of prejudice to you by expressions of my unfeigned respects to you (for now *vana est sine viribus ira*) yet I will not trouble you further at this time. If ever it pleased God to grant me so much Libertie I shall strive to see you, and to tell you what I shall ever be ready to owne before all the world, that yo^r worth and goodness hath engaged me to be wth great sincerity,
Sir,

yo^r most affectionat freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,

16 Febr^y (165⁷₈ ?)

I heare Mr. Sharpe¹ (whom I know to be a great honorer of you) is come to London on Monday, being sent for (as I heare) by Gen. Monks, but I have neither seen him nor heard from him.

III.

Vol. iii. ff. 48^a 49^b. *To the Reverend and much Honored Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED S^r,

Last week I received yo^{rs} of the 19 July. All the trouble I shall now give you as to my outward condition, shalbe onely to tell you That you need not apprehend yo^r application did me any hurt : For that persō is so earnestly ingaged against me (if I be not misinformed) that nothing can take him off, nor set him more eagerly on. It is a great comfort to me that you did consider me so much, and I am sure it can doe no hurt. I pray God forgive him, and I hope by Gods grace I shall never intertaine the least revengfull thought against him, but Labour patiently to submitt to what the Lord shall doe in relation to me, knowing that all shall worke together for good, and if my portion is not heir it is above the reach of sequestration and the

¹ I find no other reference to this sudden call of Sharp to London and so early a connection with Monk. His employment by the latter as a 'go-between' in the months immediately preceding the Restoration is well known.

meditations of it may easily sweeten what can befall me in the way. Your notion concerning Papists in relation to the Catholick Church is certainly right and the onely way to deale wth them ; for if we limit the Cath. Ch. to protestants onely, How can we avoyde that charge of uncharitable Schisme w^{ch} they are deeply guilty of. I am glade you doe proceed to unmaske that generation more and more, and if I could serve you in providing but straw to such a building, I should thinke my time well employed. You tell me you are promised a translation of Moulin ¹ ' of the Noveltie of Poperie.' As for Blondel ² ' de primatû,' it is a folio booke (I have it in my Librarie beyond sea : for my Librarie is safe and that is all hath scaped). To translate it all is too great a worke for me to undertake, neither doe I ever meane to trouble the world wth any of my scriblings and least of all with translations (which is ordinarily but the spoyling of good bookes, the robbing of others without enriching ones self) But if you will appoint me any chapters of it w^{ch} may be of use to you, or any point handled in it, I shall most willingly translate them Faithfully at least and as well as I can and send them sheet by sheet to you. The whole worke I thinke will not be of use to you. Therefor you may know the contents of any who hath and understands the booke. Then be pleased to set me my taske and I shall speedily goe about it. It wilbe to me no more trouble than to reade or write English out of French wth as much ease as reade or copie English. If therefor I can thus serve you in this or any other french or italian book, comānd me freely. For Spanish bookes I shall also make a shifte. This offer is no complement, for I shalbe most really pleased to be employed by you. By being thus an amanüensis to you I shalbe more usefull Then any other way I can propose. Besides, my respects to you are so reall and so above all complement That it shalbe a great satisfaction to me in this or any other way to witnes myself

Sir, a true honorer of you and yo^r most affectionat reall freind
and servant

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
17 August, 1658.

¹ Pierre Du Moulin (Molinæus) (1568-1658) The "Nouveauté du Papisme opposée à l'Antiquité du vrai Christianisme" was published in 1627.

² David Blondel (1590-1658), Professor of History at Amsterdam (1650) in succession to Vossius. "He was a man who had an unbounded knowledge of religious and profane history." The "De la Primauté en l'Eglise" was printed in 1641 at Geneva.

IV.

Vol. iii., ff. 44^{ab} 45^b. *To the reverend my much Honored freind Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster. per Birmingham Post.*

WINDSOR CASTLE,
20 Sepr., 1658.

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

Yours of the 7 came to my hands on Thursday the 16 date and the diligence I have used since to procure the booke in order to my obeying you hath been the reason of my delaying my answer. Fryday was spent in looking for the booke at Eton, and I was amazed not to find it in some good Libraries, especially seeing one of the owners of a very good one does understand French. On Saturday early I employed a servant to seek at London, who was as unsuccessfull that day as I have been heir. In Pauls Churchyard it was not to be found ready bound. Alwayes¹ he hath this morning borrowed it for me, and I have it heir. It is Mr. Bates booke. As the choyce you have made of me to doe this inconsiderable service was ane effect of your Justice (because my time may indeed better be spared) so give me Leave to understand it as ane effect of your freindship to me. And if you suffer by the choyce, by my not doing it so well, I must appeal to that freindship for a pardon, seing, I assure you, I doe undertake it as willingly as any friend you have. I shall doe it as well as I can ; and, by God's assistance, I shall endeavour to give you his sence faithfully. I have been looking on his preface, and I finde him apologise for his translating βασιλεὺς King (where ane Emperour is meant) and, ἱερεὺς, Sacerdot. This way wil be more tollerable in me ; and, therefor, I meane to take it, that is, not to trouble myself nor you wth polishing the English of it, But squarely to give you the Author's true meaning in any intelligible word w^{ch} suites it best and w^{ch} first *venerit in buccam*, neither will I spare the English Language more than Blondell hath done the french : where he renders Sacerdot I will do so too (for I am sure it is as good English as it is french).

In a word, I write for you. If I make it intelligible to you, I hope you will excuse me if I doe not care for polishing my English.

¹ Alwayes here means "Still, nevertheless, however . . . chiefly northern." See "New English Dicty.," sub loco †3.

Before I saw the booke I did intend to have followed yo^r method, But now I will doe quite contrarie. For in the last place you desire an account of the summe of the contents. And seing I finde it well printed I will in the first place translate the contents,¹ w^{ch} I shall, God willing, send to London translated this week. And while I am expecting what chapters or sections you will choose as most proper for yo^r purpose I shalbe going on in satisfying yo^r other two quæries. But when you have the contents I shall intreat you to pitch on the sections¹ w^{ch} you are most curious to be satisfied in, and I shall do them first. Be confident I shalbe as diligent as I can and therefor I shall wish you may not put out yo^r booke till you have what you desire out of Blondell. Spare not my paines and use nothing to me like compliment. I am a plaine man and be assured of the great treuth That I honor you so really That I am hugely pleased to doe you service, and I will vye with any body in my respects to you. Nay, I intend more. There is a french booke in two volumes folio Intituled 'Of the Liberties of the Gallican Church.'² It is above 12 years since I saw it, but I have heard it exceedingly comended. And if I be not mistaken, there are many authentique testimonies in it against the Pope's usurped power. It was written, as I remember, by a French President,³ and when I was a dealer in bookes (for now I am but for small ware) it was very deare, w^{ch} spoke it much esteemed. I have also sent to London for those 2 volumes, and at idle houres I shall runne over the contents of them, and acquaint you with them. For I desire that you may have all the helps you can before yo^r bookes come out. You may expect answers, and, therefor, do not hasten. Pardon me, if I be not so quick as you expect, and believe it I shall strive to conquer my naturall Lazines. I have read yo^r answer to Pierce,⁴ wherein you fully satisfy me of

¹ See note at end.

² This was "*Les Libertés d'Eglise Gallicane*" by Pierre Pithoy (1539-1596) (or Pithou) published (1) in one volume, 1594, Paris and (2) in two vols. fol., 1639 (copy in Chetham Library, 912), (3) another edition—called the 2nd—appeared in 1657 under the patronage of Louis XIV who said, "We wish to show our favour to a work of so great importance for the rights of our crown."

³ By appointment of Henry IV, Pithou, for a time, was Procurator-General of the Parliament of Paris.

⁴ The Grotian Religion Discovered, at the Invitation of Mr. Thomas Pierce in his Vindication . . . 1658. For Pierce (1622-1691) see R.B., Pt. i., p. 113.

Grotius being a Papist.¹ I was at Paris acquainted with Grotius. He was there Ambassador for Sweden in the year 1637, and thogh I was then very yong yet some visits past among us. My discours with him was onely in Humanities. But I remember well he was then esteemed such a papist as you call Cassandrian,² and so did Cordesius esteem him, who was a priest. The owner of that great Library,³ now printed in his name, with him I was also acquainted. He was a great admirer of Grotius, an eminent enemy to Jesuites and a moderate french papist. This opposition of Mr. Pierce makes me expect you will have more from that sort of men ; and therefor to justify what you say of the new fashioned Bishops of this Isle, I shall desire you to send for a booke intituled *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum*, per Gul. Forbesium S.T.D. Episcopum Edinburgensem. It is newly printed at London. In it you will see Popery enough, if the defending Images, prayer for dead, a new fashioned purgatorie, and the Messe to be a propitiatory sacrifice for Living and dead—if these be popery. I have looked but ane houre into it. It is set out by ane excommunicat Scots Bishop,⁴ now living in Edinburgh under the shadow of the English army. If you be called on any more this booke will help to justify yo^r charge. I intended to have told you how I have scaped a very uneasy remove lately, But this is too long already. Be pleased to tell me how I shall address yo^r papers to you. And direct mine to be

¹ Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). "He would admit in one ecclesiastical alliance not only Remonstrants and contra-Remonstrants but also Lutherans and Socinians and even Roman Catholics." Baxter thought him essentially a Papist and an agent of the Jesuits. So did others—Robert Baillie e.g.

² George Cassander (1513-1566) a Roman Catholic Theologian who tried to mediate between Roman Catholics and Protestants on the basis (so far as doctrine was concerned) of the Apostles Creed. His work, in that interest, entitled "*Consultatis de Articulis Fidei inter Papistas et Protestantibus Controversis*" achieved nothing but to offend the one party without gaining the confidence of the other.

³ The Library of Cordesius (1570-1642) was bought by Cardinal Mazarin and presented to the Royal Library at Paris. Its catalogue of 8324 volumes (*Bibliothecae Cordesianæ Catalogus*) was printed at Paris in 1643.

⁴ William Forbes (1585-1634), one of the Laudian Bishops and consecrated at Edinburgh in February, 1634. He died the same year. His posthumous, and only, work—"Considerationes . . . de Justificatione, purgatorio, invocatione sanctorum, Christo mediatore, et eucharistia . . . London, 1658" had just come out.

left with Peter Cunninghame at his hous in Duke Street, neir Lincolns
Inne fields, London, and they will come safe I hope and speedily to,
Sr, yo^r true freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

V

B. MSS.—vol. ii., ff. 315^{ab}, 316^b. *For the reverend and much
Honored Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of the Gospell at
Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

You shall heir receive the contents of that booke.¹ I
have been as diligent as I could in hastning it to you, for I shall doe
no more untill I heare from you. Now you will easily know what is
in the booke, so you can better choose what is fitt for you. Be pleased
therefor to send me word what section you pitch on. Do but designe
the chapter, the section and the heads of it (according as it is heir) and
I shall with all the speed I can send it to you. Blondel in his preface
gives his reasons why in dealing with Card. Perron² He begins
with the 2^d part of his booke. 1 Because that was the most
elaborate, most cryd up and fullest of collections beyond all the
rest of the Reply. 2^{dly} for vindication of the Honor of Jesus Christ
the head of the Church, whose office, in the decline of the last ages,
hath been so much invaded. 3^{dly}. Because most of the papists who
have dealt in controversies of Late set themselves chiefly to maintaine
the interest and the grandeur of the Pope w^{ch} they set within the body
of Religion as Phidias did his owne picture in the centre of that
Buckler w^{ch} sustained the statue of Minerva. From hence he
concludes That the jealousie of that great and formidable interest
being the principal hinderance of the restoring the antient faith of
the Catholick Church and spirituall peace among her children,
whosoever desires to procure effectually that restitution must first

¹ See note at end.

² Jaques Davy Du Perron (1556-1618). He was born at St. Lô (Normandy) of Protestant parents; but "having received an office in the household of Henry III, and finding his religion an embarrassment in a court career he embraced Romanism, was ordained priest, and devoted himself to religious polemics and proselytising." He was made cardinal in 1604. His works, which had a great vogue, appeared in Paris 1620-22, 3 vols., fol.

discusse the pretensions of the Court of Rome, inquire into their beginnings and make all Christendom remarke the long and dangerous cōsequences. For these reasons (he says) he beginnes with that part of the Cardinalls booke w^{ch} does concern the primacie. And in the preface he hints at some of the heads of his worke, and gives an account of his translation of some citations (of w^{ch} I gave you a touch in my Last Letter on Monday Last, Late). Now let me say a word or two as to my translation. I shall not repeat what I said, nor say more for my retaining the words Sacerdot and Pontif (wherin I follow my originall). I doe the same in the word Episcopat and for this reason, because Bishoprick in our Language regards rather the Benefice nor the office. I doe retaine the french word *deference*, because I cannot in one English word express the full meaning of it : for it is not so much as submission and it is more than acknowledgment. You will finde one harsh expression in the 2^d page, cited out of Prosper, *Dungeon of Religion* ; but I know not how to help it, for it is the same word in the French, onely *Dungeon* in French signifies also the strongest part of any fortresse, w^{ch} may serve for a retraite in any extremity, w^{ch} may be the signification heer intended. In the title of the 26 Chapter, I translate as I found it, *Letters formed* w^{ch} it seems was one of the designations of the *Communicatorie Epistles* w^{ch} antiently went betwixt Bishop and Bishop (of w^{ch} Blondel in the examination of that chapter discourses at Large). You will finde in one or two places that french word w^{ch} is in Latin *Vestigium*, translated by me *vestige*, w^{ch} I rather choosed than footstep because it is the marke of the footstep there meant. But I shall rather expect yo^r pardon then trouble you more about such faults as I have in this, and may in the remnant comitt in my translation. For I doe not minde the polishing of it. All I intend is faithfullnes, w^{ch} by God's grace, I shall answer for. The rest you have goodnes enough to pass by, and I do onely intend it for you. In my last I told you that I had scaped a troublesome remove and it was this. The day before the late Governor¹ died, it did please the Councell to order me forthwith to be removed to Warwick Castle which would have been very grievous to me to be againe hurried into a strange place and nothing is more inconvenient for a long journey

¹ Cromwell is meant.

Than want of Money (a disease I have been long under), but I bless God my wife prevailed to get the order recalled, so heir I am and shalbe ready to goe on obeying you. Liberty I do not expect. Together with my scribling, receave a copie of a sermon w^{ch} was given me by the Author, who is a prettie man, my neighbour, and I thinke my good freind. He gave me more copies, and allowed me to send one to you ; and I have many times heard him express a great respect to you. In my last I desired you to send me word by whose hands I might convey the papers to you, That they may not miscary ; and I desired you to send any Letter for me to London, and there appoint it to be delivered to Peter Cunninghame at his hous in Duke Street neir Lincolns Inn feilds.

This I doe because yo^r Last was ten dayes by the way and I doubt was opened, for the seal was spoiled

I am most heartily, Sr,
your reall freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
23 of September, 1658.

VI.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 50^a 51^b. *For Mr. Richard Baxter.*

WINDSOR CASTLE,
4 Novemb., 1658.

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED,

According to my promise this day se'nnight (not having heard from you since I sent my last three Letters to you) you shall heir receave the contents of P. Moulins booke :¹ not all the contents, but all that relates to Antiquitie or might in my opinion be for yo^r purpos. By this you can better judge of the booke comparatively with Blondel then I can, seing you have a table of the contents of both. Yet you shall know my opinion also on a cursorie view. Both of them answer one booke of Card. Perron, but Moulin handles most of the controversies with the Papists, and Blondel that onely concerning the Pope's pretended primacie, wherein he is so large that Blondell's booke is twice as big (thogh but on that one point) as Moulins. And indeed Blondell in that booke shows himself to have been versed in antiquity even to admiration w^{ch} makes me regrait That he should have misspent so much prectious time in his Latter dayes as to write

¹ See note at end.

2 great volumms on a subject so below a divine, even on the Genealogies of the Kings of France. I never saw these volumms, but by the title I conjecture They were a worke fitter for a Herald or a Lawyer then for a divine. And now that misspent time is irrecoverable, for he is now with God, and before the Lord called him he lost his eyes—as he telles us in his preface before Dallei Apologia. One worke of his I have now by me in French Concerning the Sybills¹ wherein he accurately confutes from Antiquitie the Popish prayer for the dead and purgatorie. Also I have Lately gott out of Holland most of Amirault's² workes, amongst the rest One treatise concerning church-government, and ane Apologie for the Reformed Relligion, both in French. I have not yet seen them : for they are at London binding. But I shall trouble you no further at this time : once³ you shall have a short Letter from me. I shall Long till, by hearing from you, I shalbe put on more worke for you w^{ch} wilbe heartily undertaken.

Sir,

Yo^r reall freind and servant,
LAUDERDAILL.

VII.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 52^{ab} 53^b. *For the Reverend and much honored Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kidderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED SIR,

Yo^{rs} of the 5 and of the 9 of this moneth came to me much about a time. The reason of my delay of the answer Hath proceeded from my desire to cleir you from those prejudices w^{ch} the reading of great

¹ Des Sibylles, célébrées tout par l'antiquité payenne que par les Saints-Pères (1649).

² Moïse Amyrant (Moses Amyraldus) (1596-1664), Professor of theology at Saumur since 1633. His "Traité de la Predestination" (1634) caused great excitement among strict Calvinists, "because his teaching on grace and predestination seemed to depart from the Synod of Dort by adding a conditional universal grace to the unconditional particular." There is a Latin letter of his to Baxter (written cir. 1663) in which he repudiates a charge of having spoken slightly of "the nonconformists in England and of Baxter in particular" (R.B., Pt. ii., p. 442). Baxter's supposed "Ameraldisme" evoked alarm in some quarters. Baillie, e.g., wrote to Rev. Simeon Ashe (Baxter's London friend) entreating him to consider "how to gett this dangerous evill remedied, or, at least stopped." "Letters," vol. iii., 391. Nov. 20, 1658—a fortnight later than this of Lauderdale's.

³ I.e. for once.

Usher¹—de promordiis Eccles. Britan. Hath (as I doe humbly conceave) cast you into. Yo^r Letter hath made me goe over that booke, and my desire to have my countrey stand right in yo^r Esteem (w^{ch} I more value then I will tell you) Hath made me bestow some time To Let you see That the more I search the more I am convinced That I was not mistaken as to the soyle. But my scriblings on that subject shalbe with you in a week ; and till then I pray you keep one eare open. As to yo^r desires, seing my translations can be of no more use to you I shall forbear. Yet I shall take that walke through all Blondells booke w^{ch} you appoint ; and pick what flowers I can finde fitt for yo^r purpos to make you a posie.² Pardon me if it take some time. I am a slow student, and before I receavd yo^rs was engaged in a taske w^{ch} will take me to the end of next week. Therafter I doe promise you the half of my time of reading every day, except the Lords day, till it be done. And I hope to send the account of my Labour about the beginning of Jan^{ry} for a new years gift. I am glade Moulins booke is so far advanced. By the Index I guess what is for yo^r purpos is in those first quires w^{ch} you say are done, so you may send for them. And on this purpos Give me Leave to beg That as you are charitable to English scholars in Labouring to get the best french books translated, so you wold be as charitable in getting yo^r booke of Rest put into Latin for the good of protestants beyond the sea who I dare say wold quickly put it into all their vulgar Languages. In the meane time a freind of yo^rs hath sent a copie of it to one of the best quality that understands the Language over the water ; and I have sent almost all yo^r workes to a deare freind and kinsman of mine in Holland,³ who sends me

¹ Ussher James (1581-1656). The reference is to

"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates . . . inserta est . . . a Pelagio . . . inductæ Hæreseos Historia." Dublin, 1639.

For Baxter and Ussher, see R.B., Pt ii., p. 206.

² See note at end.

³ R.B., Pt. i., p. 121. "When the Earl of Lauderdale . . . was Prisoner in *Portsmouth* and *Windsor Castle* he fell into acquaintance with my bookes . . . and earnestly commended them to the *Earl of Balcarras*, with the King."

Balcarras (Alexander Lindsay) (1618-1659) was related to Lauderdale, through his mother Lady Sophia Seton, 3rd daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline and sister to Lauderdale's mother, Lady Isabel Seaton, 2nd daughter. That is, they were cousins. Balcarras at first thought Baxter wrote "too favourably of the Papists," and, on that account, refused to read him. But he returned to him, under pressure from Lauderdale ; and read all his books. His wife did the same (R.B.—as above).

other bookes in exchange. And if you desire any booke which is not to be found heir, send me word and I shall answer to get you a quick account, if it be in Paris or Holland. For, thogh I am wiser then to keep the least dangerous correspondence, yet I have some schollar acquaintance with whom I correspond sometimes beyond the sea. But it is onely of bookes and not of news, w^{ch} I leave to the newsbookes, as being none of my busines. Yo^r short and Pathetick regrate for the condition of protestants is too trew. Oh how dangerous are the beginnings of warre ! I have great obligation to the K of Sweden,¹ yet treuth forces me to say what a sea of blood hath his invasion of Poland been the occasion if not the cause of in Europe ! And now it is like to put England and Holland by the ears : for I heare ane English fleet under Vice-Admirall Goodson of 20 sails parted on Fryday toward the Sound and more are following, under S(ir) Geo. Ascew. But you conclude well, Where is our strenth but in heaven ? And a great comfort to us is wrapt up in 93 Ps. : The Lord reigns, etc. To his rich grace I recomēd you and yo^r Labours and Rest.

Sir,

Yo^r faithfully affectionat servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
24 of Nov., 1658.

VIII.

B. MSS.—vol. iii. 54^{ab}, 55^b. *For Mr. Richard Baxter Minister of the Gospell at Kiderminster.*

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED FREIND,

Thogh upon the receipt of yo^r Letters of the 5 and 14 Nov^r I did runne over the Primats booke and wrote what is heir inclosed, yet I did not transcribe it till yo^{rs} of the 29 gave me the

¹ On July 10, 1655, Charles X of Sweden (the Swedish Napoleon) quitted Sweden to engage in his Polish adventure. His campaigns against Poland and then Denmark reached a climax about the date of Lauderdale's letter. He died Feb. 13, 1660, in his 38th year.

"The commercial interests of the maritime States were deeply involved in the issue of this contest ; both England and Holland prepared to aid their respective allies ; and a Dutch Squadron joined the Danish while an English Division, under the command of Ayscue, sailed to the assistance of the Swedish monarch" (Lingard, "History of England," vol. viii., chap. 8, p. 275).

confidence ; and now I cannot send so long a scribble wthout first craving yo^r pardon and intreating you to read it as you wold a news booke when you have no great busines. I made it as short as I could, and have foreborne all nationall reflexions w^{ch} historie gave me ground enough for (seing Ireland was not owned for a Kingdome till Henry 8 his dayes, the English being stiled only Lords of Ireland since their conquest ; and before, divers great men, in every province, called themselves kings, none els called them so). What I have said will I hope let you see that I had more ground in historie for my assertion then the Irish have for their fancie. And indeed I was sorrie to finde such contradictions in that good mans booke w^{ch} ane adversarie wold make strang worke of, if any Popish Priest shall take it to taske. But my end was onely to satisfy you in privat and I thoght it a duety to set that poore nation right in yo^r eyes, who hath been pleased to doe it so much right in its distressed condition in many passages of yo^r workes w^{ch} I shall never forget.

In my last I told you that I could not immediately fall about Blondell (for I had a little worke to doe w^{ch} I have ended : This was onely a *parergon*), and I met wth 4 dayes diversion w^{ch} was lost worke (and I warne you of it least you should fall into the like, thogh I thinke you imploy yo^r time better then to be taken with titles). There is lately come out a booke in Folio of Dr. Dee¹ his Actions wth Spirits. The booke was recomended to me by a man of prettie parts, and I had heard of Dr. Dee for his mathematicks. The subject seemed strange and some invitation I had from the name of the publisher, Dr. Casaubon, for his fathers sake.² But all I found was a poore ambitious man pitifully abused wth devills, pretending to be angells of light. Some things they say not inconsiderable, but for the most part their divinity is perfectly like the Behmenists or Sr Henry Vane. Sometimes they are like worshipfull Quakers ; in 3 or 4 Passages most zealous papists. And at last the Devill shews his cloven foot, and teaches the

¹ John Dee (1527-1608). See article in D.N.B. His work, "A True and Faithful relation of what passed for many Yeers between Dr. John Dee . . . and some spirits was published at London, 1659 fol. ; with Preface by Meric Casaubon, D.D. "confirming the Reality (as to the Points of Spirits) of this Relation : and Shewing the several good Uses that a sober Christian may make of All."

² Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614).

Doctrine of Devills indeed—teaching Dr. Dee and Edward Kellie (ane avowed Necromancer) to lie promiscuously wth one anothers wife. And at last all ends in cheating promises : for Dee dyed and found the Devill a lyar. All that I have learned by the booke is That Dr. Casaubon is not like his father, els he wold not have sent such a booke into this world w^{ch} is too apt to catch at pretended new lights, thogh from the Prince of Darknes. This account I give you of my misspent time as an apologie if I be a fortnight longer in sending you ane account of what I can finde in Blondel for yo^r purpos. To-morrow I shall begin, God willing, and not give over till I goe through it. I wish I could doe anything might satisfy you. None living is willinger then, Sir, yo^r trew freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
14 Dec^r 1658.

I wish I knew any were fitt to translate yo^r bookes. I am sure they wold take hugely abroad, and I thinke it were not amisse to begin with the Call to the Unconverted. Some bookes I have gott out of Holland : most of Amyrault his workes, among the rest a smart peece in French of Church government against the Independents. I have also gott the Mysterie of Jesuitisme in Latin, translated by the approbation of the author (who wrote it most eloquently in French, under the title of *Lewes Montalte*¹ his Provinciaall Letters). This Latin copie is much larger then the French or English—with replyes to the Jesuits pitifull answers. It is done by an able Divine, a Papist ; and printed at Collen. If you have a minde to see it, I shall send it to you.

IX.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 58^{ab}, 59^b. (*For Mr. Richard Baxter at Kidderminster.*)

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED Sir,

On the 15 of Dec^r last I sent you some scriblings of my owne. I know not if they came to yo^r hands thogh I am sure they

¹ Louis de Montalte was the pseudonym under which Pascal (1623-1662) published at Cologne in 1657 "Les Provinciales." The letters were 19 in number ; and from the 4th to the 16th Pascal censures the Jesuit moral code.

were delivered to Mr. White. But the loss is small, thogh they did miscarrie. Onely I should be sorie they came to other hands who perhaps will not have so much charity for me as I expect from you. In that letter I promised you a full account of Blondells most learned booke sooner then I am able to send it ; for I had a sad interruption by the news that it hath pleased God to call my Dearest brother.¹ This disabled me from studie divers dayes. For albeit the Lord was pleased to sweeten that sad affliction with the greatest comfort that I was capable of by the testimonies of Mr. Ja(mes) Sharpe and some other honest ministers who were with my brother, That they were much edified by his gracious discourses and the temper they found him in before the end, so that thogh I shall never see him more in this world yet the Hopes to meet him in a much better world (where there is neither Sin nor Sorrow) oght to turne my sorrow into thanks giving for the Lord's rich and free mercie. But I must confess my privat loss sits yet too sharp on me. This will, I hope, obtaine yo^r pardon for the failing in time. And that you may have some account of my diligence, Receave herewith ane account of neir the half of the booke, about 550 pages in folio reduced into a nut shell.² It is wholly on the defensive ; and as you will see by the summarie (w^{ch} I first sent you) it is ane acurat answer to what the adversaries doe alledg in point of Antiquitie as to these subjects. Were it in my power to send you the whole, you wold certainly pick more out of it ; but heir is what I did conceive fittest for yo^r purpos. I found the testimonies cited in French (and not in their own language), so I put them verbatim into English. I tell you the pages of my author, and sometimes, yea often, I onely tell you the purpos, and that it is largely proved by my author. If any of these generall heads wilbe of advantage to you Be pleased to write the word what number you pitch on, and what page in Blondell, and I shall speedilie transcribe them to you. For althogh I kept no copie of my former translations yet I keep a copie of this, so that anie place you shall pitch on, I can presently turn to it. In the meantime I shall goe on as speedily as I can with the rest of the worke. One thing I shall promise That excepting the holy Scripture (and sometimes for recreation a snatch at some other booke) I shall read nothing els till it be done. Againe I must conclude That if I am not so usefull as

¹ Robert Maitland, younger brother.

² See note at end.

I desire to yo^r service, yet I hope you will accept of the sincere desires of

Sir,

Yo^r truely affectionat freind and servant
LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
10 Jan^{ry}, 165⁸₉.

X.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., ff. 56^{ab}, 57^a, 57^b. (*For Mr. Richard Baxter.*)

REVEREND AND MUCH HONORED SIR,

Yours of the 13 Jan^{ry} was long by the way, for I had it not till Saturday last 22 so late that I could doe nothing till Monday. Here is as full ane account as I can give you concerning yo^r 3 questions.¹ I have transcribed his words and must give you the testimonies in English because Blondel puts them in French and not in the Language of the authors.

I must againe beg yo^r pardon for its English, w^{ch} I do willingly That I may express my Authors meaning and to you intelligably (thogh not to ane unlearned reader). As for example *dotes* for gifts *grade* for degree, *Sacerdos*, Eloge : for the first 3 are no more French then they are English, and seing Blondel makes French of those 3 Latin words, I may to you make them English. Neither wold I alter his word *numerositie*.

In the first question I hope you will be satisfied. As for the other two I am sorrie Blondel is not pleased to prove what he says. In the 2^d I conceive He takes it^r for granted That the Pope could not pretend to more then a primacie in the Roman Empire : for he proves that Scripture gives him none. And the counsellis consisted onely of the Roman Empire. So if it be proved that the Countreys were Christian w^{ch} were never parts of that Empire, it is all that is necessarie. One of the people mentioned may be clearly proved by all the ecclesiastical histories, viz., the Indians. They must be confessed to have been without the verge of Romania in the largest sence. It is known Frumentine converted them, and he had his ordination at Alexandria. But I will not be tedious wth inforcing more.

¹ See note at end.

As to the 3^d question, Blondel offers at no more than I have transcribed, and says not a word of those one or two Bishops you mention of Parthia and Armenia. As for apparitions and possessions (besides the bookes w^{ch} you cite in yo^r booke of the unreasonableness of Infidelitie)¹ I have in Latin a booke of three famous possessions, Of one a priest at Marseilles who was prince of the synagogues of Satan (or Sabbat) in all Europe : his name (as I take it) was Louis Ganfredy burnt about fortie yeers agoe ; and of two possessed nuns in Flanders. The booke is printed at Paris dedicated to the King of France. If you please, I will send it ; but it serves more to shame papists for laying weight upon the Devills testimonie (being exorcised) for confirming their grossest superstitions (and I put a learned Romanist lately highly out of countenance with it) yet there are divers things in it to yo^r purpos. I have also 2 bookes in a large quarto, written by a French councillor, imployed by the Parl^t of Bourdeaux in the Judging of witches. His name is De L'Ancre. He is specially recomended by that litle discours of the Devill of Mascon w^{ch} was lately printed in English. In these bookes I am sure there are many stories to yo^r purpos ; but the bookes are french and I must dispatch Blondel ere I undertake more. As for relations, I could tell you of some in my owne Countrey most certainly true, some before my time, one since I was a man, in a godlie ministers hous strangely and undeniably haunted with spirits. If I had my right, I have the chief interest in, and am Patron of the Parish, and have many times had the relation from the

¹ Published 1655, Pt. iii. (For Prevention of the Unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost), § 5, p. 109. Here he quotes at length one case from *Bodin* and refers for many others to his "*Saints' Rest*," Pt. ii., c. 7, § 3—where it appears as if he had acquainted himself with all the books on the subject, ancient and modern. His belief "in apparitions and possessions" never weakened. One of his last books is entitled "The Certainty of the World of Spirits. Fully evinced by the unquestionable histories of apparitions, operations, witchcrafts, voices, etc. . . . written for the conviction of Sadducees and Infidels" (1691). Chap. 4 of this book consists entirely of a letter from Lauderdale (10 pp.) dated 'Windsor Castle, March 12, 1659,' and so falls between Letter X. (Jany. 26) of this series and the last (March 17th). Baxter heads the chapter with the note—"Instances sent me from the Duke of Lauderdale : (More in other Letters of his" (which) "I gave away, and some Books of Forreign Wonders he sent me)." The latter would be the 'Latin Booke' and De L'Ancre.' In this letter (p. 88) it is said—"Within thie fortnight Mr. *James Sharp* was with me (him you know, and he is now in London)." . . . See first paragraph of eleventh letter.

ministers mouth. I can tell you of a possession in Scotland neir the place I was borne in, since I remember, the particulars of w^{ch} I had my self From Learned Mr. Jo. Weems owne mouth. But my poore Countrey lyes under such a weight of malice and slander That I wold not willingly have anything of that put in print now ; yet for yo^r satisfaction I shall write them to you when you please. Also of a famous possession in Holland, w^{ch} I had there by unquestionable tradition. And for mock possessions to shame papists I saw two shamefull ones —That of Loudon nuns in France (on w^{ch} Walter Montague grounded his pretended conversion), and one at Antwerp. But I shall trouble you with none of this till you give me a 2^d order.

As for my scriblings concerning my Countrey, Take yo^r owne time, and tell me freely wherein you thinke me mistaken ; and, as I did write in hast and onely for yo^r satisfaction, so I shall willingly and thankfully receive yo^r correction. You are just in saying I am a partie, and so I must confess I am against the Reverend Prelate (who, I thinke, on that argument did use us ill and himself wors). But I shall labour to be not a willfull one against treuth when I can see it. This calling of a Parl^t by the Protector ¹ gives me hope you will come to London (w^{ch} is the greatest satisfaction I expect from it) and then I flatter my self you will see me. In the meantime, if my restraint can give me opportunitie to doe anything acceptable to you, it will much sweeten it. For thogh I am ane useless laid-aside, and as to outward things a ruined prisoner, yet I bless God my spirit is free. By his grace I have some measure of contented submission, and I am with all my heart, Sir, yo^r reall freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

I am advanced in Blondel 300 pages more.

26 Jan^{ry} (165⁸₉).

XI.

B. MSS.—vol. iii., 60^{ab}, 61^b. *To the reverend my much honored freind Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospell at Kidderminster.*

SIR,

Yo^{rs} of the 26 Feb^{ry} was a fortnight in coming yet I had it before yo^r bookes, and in obedience to you I did scribble this

¹ 27 January, 1659.

inclosed too long Letter.¹ You may justly be frighted wth its Lenth, but I desire you to reade it for divertisement when you can best spare so much time. If you desire further satisfaction in any of the stories I mention, upon advertisement I shall indeavor to satisfy you. Receave herewith that Latin booke² (if Latin I may call it, it is so course a stile). I did onely cursorily view it, so cannot well judge whether it will be of use against Saducees. Sure I am it may shame Romanists—That storie I meane of Magdalon de Palud, whereby their pretended Church authority, a devill, is made so zealous for popish errors, and so orthodox a Papist. I have layed in a Leafe at the beginning of it. The storie is printed long ago in English, and Dr. Worthington of Cambridge³ brought it hither to me. There being heir 4 prisoners comitted as priests, one of them (ane ingenious man) seing it in my chamber wold needs maintaine that it was a London invention to disgrace them; but, when I shewed him this printed at Paris and dedicated to the French King he was much out of countenance.

To shame papists I thinke this booke may be of use to lye by you and therefor I beseech you keep it. It is, I confess, not worthie of yo^r acceptance, yet, if you like it, you shall oblige me to keep it. As for De. L'ancre, I told you I have two volumes in 4^{to} of his, but as farr as I can judge by a cursorie view, it is not worth the paines to be translated. It is true divers stories in it might be culled out by a discreet person fitt enough to convince the incredulous That there are witches; but there is a great deale of trash in the booke, and he must have much time to spare that will undertake it. In the end of one of the volumes There is a large storie of ane apparition in a village neir Agen, in Gasconie, attested by the B^p of Agen, the notarie and some others to have happened in June and July 1612. But it looks like a popish forgerie, for the spirits actions and discourses tend wholly to confirme the popish purgatorie, masses and such trash, and it is alledged to have been seen onely by 3 wenches—so it might shame the papist but wold rather harden then convert ane Atheisticall

¹ This must be the letter of March 9th, referred to above, note 1.

² See last letter.

³ John Worthington (1618-1671). He belonged to the circle of Cambridge Platonists—Whichcote, John Smith, Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, etc., and his *visit* to Lauderdale at Windsor is an unexpected circumstance. But his 'Diary' exhibits an interest in the occult which may possibly account for the connection.

Saducee. If you know any will imploy their time about it, I shall most willingly send them the bookes, but I hope you will not desire me to take such a taske. And indeed I may be justly ashamed to have been so slow in a much better worke ; but I hope you have goodnes enough to forgive me when I have told you that I could not well help it, having had those six weeks so many unavoydable avocations and interruptions. After I had written my last to you I intended great diligence till I had finished it, But I was much discouraged by finding nothing to yo^r purpos in that long debate concerning the primats of Africk (where I did please myself with expecting so much for you). That dispute is wholly spent in the Examination what was the reason of primacy in Africk. And since that time (thogh I have no busines) I could not promise myself one whole day to this work. But I had determined to begin againe this week, when yo^rself hath interrupted me : for having receaved yo^r two bookes¹ on Saturday at night, I can doe nothing till I have read them. Besides, yo^r Key for Catholicks being now abroad, I conceive you are in no such hast. Alwayes after I have read these two bookes of yo^{rs} I shall goe about finishing Blondel. But because I doe not exactly remember how much of my notes out of Blondell I have transcribed and sent you, be

¹ (a) "A Key for Catholicks to open the Jugling of the Jesuits . . . and to leave the reader utterly unexcusable that after this will be a Papist." In two Parts.

It is dedicated to Richard Cromwell—"one whose face I never saw nor ever had a word from, but ignorantly endeavoured to have provoked him to do good." At the close of the Preface there is the following: "I understand not the French Tongue but by the Testimony of Learned Men that understand them, and especially by the help * of a Noble friend that vouchsafed to translate some part of them for my use."

(b) Five Disputations of Church-Government . . . 1658 (Finitur July 9, 1658). This, also, was dedicated "To his Highness Richard Lord Protector." "The great Indignation against this and the former is that they were by Epistles directed to *Ri Cromwell* as Lord Protector, which I did only to provoke him that had the Power to use it well, when the Parliament had sworn Fidelity to him; and that without any Word of Approbation of his Title" (R.B., Pt. i., p. 118).

In August, 1673, he reminded Lauderdale that he was the "first" that "checked" his "imprudent temerity," in publishing these dedications.

* In the margin is the note: The Right Honourable the Earl of *Lauderdale*: a person whose eminent Godliness and Learning occasioneth the sorrow of his countrey that is deprived of him in such days as these when Piety is so much esteemed.

pleased to write me word if the 26th observation, referring to page 453, was not the last which I sent to you (excepting what I wrote the 26 Jan^{ry} in answer to some queries of yo^rs of the 13 Jan^{ry}). This you may please to answer at yo^r conveniencie. Now give me Leave to returne you hearty thanks for yo^r 2 bookes. But I was much surprised to see you take notice of me in print, and with a caracter w^{ch} I can no way pretend to be due to me. It is a great temptation to pride to be comended by such a man as you are ; But I hope the knowledg I have of how little I deiserve, the reflection on yo^r not knowing me, and on yo^r charitable disposition, shall preserve me from being lifted up by such a favor. Something els occurred to me upon my first view of both yo^r bookes w^{ch} is not fitt to be written ; but if ever I have the happines to see you, I will take the freedom to speak to you of it.¹ I have read more than the half of yo^r Key. It is like yo^rself. I need say no more ; and I trust in God it shall be of great use to his Church. I must also returne you my thanks for yo^r recomending my busines to some members of the Hous. I have been often desired to make my applications thither, because my Case is most extraordinary. But the same reasons w^{ch} you suggest doe hinder me ; and the greater publick affairs obstruct my making any applications—except to the throne of grace for patience, submission and a sanctified use of all the Lord's dispensations. To his rich grace I recomend you and yo^r labours. I need not againe repeat that I am by many obligations

Much honoured Sir

Yo^r reall and most affectionat freind and servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Windsor Castle,
17 of March, 1659.

P.S.—I doubt not but you wilbe warie in yo^r dispute wth those papists you mention, for they use to make very unhandsome relations of such busines.

Heir is a yong man belonging to a good freind of mine. He was bred a Protestant, but ill company and the diligence of some jugling priests have put popish notions into his head. He is melancholie and reserved, no scholar and so worse to deal with. My freind hearing

¹ The two dedications to Richard Cromwell? See last note.

from me that you was engaged in a dispute wold have sent him to you, but I diverted it, thinking the dispute be over. Be pleased to let me know if you are to dispute any more, for it may be such a dispute might do the yong man good.

NOTE.

Lauderdale's notebooks dealing with Moulin and Blondel are among the Baxter MSS. of Dr. Williams's Library—six in number, of thin and small pocket-book size, very clearly and neatly written.

1. One gives an abstract of the contents of "Moulin de Novitate papismi" (according to brief title on front page). The full title is translated by the Earl as follows:—

"The Noveltie of Poperie—opposed—to the Antiquitie of trew Christianitie—against the books of Cardinal Peicou—intituled—a reply to the answer of Iames I King—of Great Britain—By P. Moulin minister of Gods word—Psalm 109 v. 28—Let them curse, but bless thou—At Sedan—by Iohn Iannou printer to the Academie—1627—in folio—Dedicated to King Charles i" (p. 1^b).

2. Another is headed (front page), "The contents of Mr. Blondels Books of the Primacie in the Church." Then (p. 1^b) "of Primacie in the church—a Treatise wherein—The Annales of Card. Barronius. The Controversies of Card. Bellarmin—The Reply of Card. dû Perron, etc.—are confronted with—The answer of the most serene King of Great Brittain—By D. Blondel—At Gereva—Printed for Iames Choriet—1641."

3. A third is more or less a duplicate of the second.

4. A fourth contains extracts from Blondel bearing on special points (in three questions) suggested by Baxter.

5. A fifth is an abstract of Blondel's examination of certain points and statements.

6. A sixth is the continuation of Blondel Extracts in one or more notebooks [non extant].

A JODRELL DEED AND THE SEALS OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

By MARGARET SHARP, M.A.

EARWAKER, the historian of East Cheshire, notes in his account of the well-known family of Jodrell, that the first-recorded member of this line was William Jodrell, who held lands in the forest of Macclesfield in 1351.¹ He also refers to the most interesting of the early Jodrell deeds, namely, a license to leave the army, granted by the Black Prince to this same William Jodrell in December, 1355. Local historians will be glad that Colonel and Mrs. H. Ramsden-Jodrell have recently deposited the Jodrell manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, with the exception of this pass which remains at Taxal. Its intrinsic interest is great ; moreover it suggests and illuminates various problems of the diplomatic and sigillography of the prince's secretariat. It has, therefore, been thought worth while to reproduce a facsimile here, with a few remarks on the Black Prince's seals. With this a photograph of a drawing of a seal is also printed. This drawing was supplied to the Jodrell family about 1870 as a complete representation of the original seal on the deed, which is much defaced. This claim is discussed later. Both are on Plate I. opposite.

The pass reads as follows :—

Sachent touz que nous le Prince de Gales avoms done conge le iour de la date de cestes a William Jauderel un de nos archers de passer en Engleterre. En tesmoignance de quele chose a ceste presente bille nous avoms fait mettre notre seal Done a Burdeaux le xvi iour de decembre lan de grace m^zcclv.

Know all that we, the Prince of Wales, have given leave, on the day of the date of this instrument, to William Jauderel, one of our archers, to go to England. In witness of this we have caused our seal to be placed on this bill. Given at Bordeaux, 16th of December, in the year of grace 1355.

The Black Prince sailed for Gascony in September 1355 and spent the autumn in the famous Languedoc raid. The prosperous

¹ J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, II., 533.

country side and the rich towns, for long the base from which the French crown had attempted to add Gascony to the royal domain, were now left desolate at the hand of the English marauder. In November Edward retired to Bordeaux, and there Christmas was celebrated. Shortly before, William Jodrell was given permission to leave the army, that is, after the great raid was over, but while the prince's troops were still actively engaged in conquering the Agenais. The ties between the Black Prince and his palatine earldom of Chester were close ; among his knights, and, as we see here, among his archers, many a Cheshire family of later repute was represented.

The original pass described above is in some ways unique. As far as I know, no other license of the kind survives. Moreover it is written on paper, and, unlike other warrants on paper issued by the Black Prince, it has its seal remaining. As a consequence of the use of paper, the letter was not sealed and folded on the simple queue system.¹ The seal here is only a mark of authentication ; as a letter patent, the pass was not, of course, fastened up. The brevity of the letter and the size of the seal were together responsible for the curious shape of the piece of paper. I have seen no other seal *plaqué*, like this, attached to documents issued by the Black Prince,² but sealing in this fashion was being revived in England about this time, perhaps in consequence of the use of paper.³ Few diplomatic points are raised by the pass. The form "sachent touz," etc., occurs in at any rate two other of the prince's letters patent, issued in Gascony, during these years,⁴ although other letters, under the prince's privy seal, often

¹ Other letters of the Black Prince have three, or occasionally six slits, which suggest that a simple queue was sometimes used even with paper.

² A letter in *Ancient Correspondence*, Vol. XL. (No. 164), written on paper after Edward was Prince of Aquitaine, has traces of wax in several places on either side. A circular marking on the face, about 2 inches in diameter, suggests the existence at one time of a seal, but it is too indistinct to argue from. Three slits appear on this letter, and there are marks of stitching all round the writing. Possibly the paper was sewn on to parchment to strengthen it.

³ See R. L. Poole, *Seals and Documents* (from the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. IX.).

⁴ E.g. W.S. *Ancient Deeds*, No. 95 (Two letters). These, however, instead of reading "sachent touz que nous le prince de Gales," etc., read "sachent touz que nous Edouard Prince de Gales," etc.

followed the formula of the English chancery.¹ Dating by the Christian, rather than by the regnal year, was a feature of all the prince's letters issued in Gascony.²

Paper was not used to any great extent for letters as early as this. By far the larger number of the prince's letters from Gascony were on parchment, all those between 1355 and 1357 for example. Paper was, however, used more extensively in Gascony than in England.³ A privy seal letter of the Black Prince's, written after 1362, was on paper,⁴ and so was a signet letter of about the same time;⁵ neither is dated, but both were written in Gascony. Privy and secret seal letters in England were also sometimes on paper.⁶ None of these is, however, as early as 1355, and in this respect the Jodrell pass is unique. Most of the letters issued by the king at this time were still on parchment, although there are exceptions. For example, in a bundle of documents subsidiary to the privy wardrobe accounts, ranging from 1353 to 1361, there is one solitary paper warrant.⁷ This may probably be dated 1359. Paper was more often used for registers than for letters; the earliest of the three surviving registers of the Black Prince's letters is on paper. This was drawn up for the years 1346 and 1347 while the later registers on parchment cover the years 1351 to 1364.⁸ In generally using parchment, but occasionally using paper, the writing departments of the Black Prince were but following the custom of the king's various secretariats.

The last and most interesting point is to identify the seal used on this pass. Unfortunately we know very little about the Black Prince's

¹ The greatest number of surviving letters from Edward in Gascony are in Latin, and are letters close, but the few letters patent follow the example of those of the king in England (e.g. Exchequer Accounts, 169/2).

² His letters in England, on the other hand, were normally dated by the regnal year.

³ See J. E. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. II., Preface, p. xvii.

⁴ *Ancient Correspondence*, XL., No. 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 145, 146, 147, 148.

⁷ Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 392, No. 15. I am indebted to Professor Tout for this reference.

⁸ Miscellaneous Books of Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Nos. 144, 278, 279.

seals, and still less about his secretariat and its officers. Thus the identification of this seal with others of a similar kind does not put an end to speculation ; we still do not know how many seals the prince possessed at the time, nor precisely what were the functions of each seal, to what organisations they belonged, or in whose custody they lay. For example, we have no evidence that the Black Prince possessed a great seal before he was made Prince of Aquitaine in 1362, nor are there any references to his chancellor. Yet he clearly must have had one seal, corresponding in authority, if not in name, to the great seal of the king or the seals of other magnates. To this no references can be found. But it is clear that much business fell upon the privy seal, originally a wardrobe seal, and that it soon went out of court and became an independent department under the keeper of the privy seal. Its place was taken by the secret seal, or at times by a special seal, used during absences abroad. This, however, is hardly the place to discuss these administrative developments, and, until further research has been devoted to the subject, we must be content to survey the existing seals of the Black Prince without any complete understanding of his secretarial arrangements.¹

There are some eight different seals of the Black Prince in the British Museum² and the Public Record Office. The earliest is the privy seal used while he was Duke of Cornwall but before he was Prince of Wales, that is between 1337 and 1343. The mark left by

¹ Much light is thrown upon the secretarial arrangements and general household organisation of the Black Prince in Miscellaneous Books of the Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Nos. 144, 278 and 279. These are registers of letters issued under the prince's privy seal. No. 144 deals with all his lands in 1346 and 1347, No. 278 with his lands in England from 1351 to 1364, No. 279 with his Cheshire lands 1351 to 1364. A fragment of a similar register dealing with Wales survives in Ancient Correspondence, LVIII., No. 35 (1354-1356). These registers are in process of being calendared and printed by the Public Record Office.

² J. Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, Appendix VII., gives pictures of those seals of the prince which survive in any form in the British Museum. Moisant's descriptions are not trustworthy, for example, for Seal 3 the inscription he gives does not appear on the picture of the seal on the page opposite, nor on the actual cast. He also regards Nos. 5 and 7 as separate seals, whereas they are certainly the obverse and reverse of the prince's great seal.

the wax on the parchment, is, however, all that remains to-day, the wax itself having disappeared. This seal measured $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and it was certainly in use in February, 1338,¹ and July, 1340;² other undated imprints of it also survive.³ A new seal was probably made after 1343 when Edward was created Prince of Wales; traces of this survive on an undated document written after the prince's return to England from the siege of Calais, that is, sometime after the 12th October, 1347.⁴ It is slightly larger than the earlier privy seal and measures $1\frac{7}{16}$ inches. The only surviving great seal, certainly in use in 1366 and 1370 was made later than, and probably in consequence of, the grant to Edward of the Principality of Aquitaine in 1362.⁵ A fragment of a seal of 1376 cannot be identified.⁶ One small seal, of which there is only a plaster cast, undated, at the British Museum, was probably used earlier than 1362 and must have been a

¹ Ancient Correspondence, XXXIX., No. 63.

² Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 212, No. 1, now known as E101/212/1. This is a letter from Edward as Keeper of England to the Keeper of the Hanaper of the Chancery. Mr. B. Wilkinson gave me this reference.

³ E.g. Ancient Correspondence, XXXIX., No. 118, dated 4th September. This letter was issued while Edward was Keeper of England, but he held this office three times; he was appointed in July, 1338, May, 1340, and October, 1342 (*D.N.B.*). Another letter is dated only 14 Edward III. (1340-41). Ancient Correspondence, XLII., No. 32.

⁴ Ancient Correspondence, LVI., No. 25.

⁵ For a description of this see De Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, Vol. II., No. 5551, also the plaster cast of the seal, in the British Museum. For a picture see Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 125. This seal is described in Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, Vol. III., No. 10134, with date 29 Jan. 1366. Its diameter is here described as 95 millimetres, that is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wider than the measurement ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) given in the *Catalogue of Seals*. The seal as depicted by Sandford measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Another impression of this seal survives in E101/178/19, dated 8 Oct. 1370. In each case the inscription describes Edward as Prince of Aquitaine and Wales. The last example is described in the document which it sealed as "notre grand seal empendant".

⁶ Exchequer Miscellanea 5/29 (P.R.O. Museum, Case B, No. 29). This is a note (undated) of various vestments, etc., bequeathed to the cathedral church of Canterbury by the Black Prince. Its date presumably is 1376. A shield of arms *couché* is all that survives, and this is not enough to identify the seal. It is possibly none of the seals, later described as A, B, and C, but another one in use after 1362.

privy or secret seal.¹ Another small seal of 1360 survives; this was possibly a secret seal. It was appended to an undertaking on the prince's part to keep the Peace of Calais.² This letter was written at Calais on 26th October, 1360, two days after the peace had been finally agreed upon. For such a document it is likely that the prince would use the most important seal he had with him. His privy seal was by now out of court, and at the time probably in London, its habitual home during the prince's absence.³ The signet, on the other hand, still followed the prince's person, and it is hardly rash to suppose that this seal was his signet. In addition to these, there are two other rather larger seals, which are more closely concerned with our search. All these, except the great seal, are of red wax.

¹ See *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 5558, for description. An upright shield of arms is the main feature of the seal, its diameter is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Since writing the above I have found that a good impression of this seal survives in the City of Chester Muniments Room. It is appended to a letter from the Black Prince to the Mayor and Citizens of Chester about the fee-farm of the city, given in R. Morris's *Chester During the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*, p. 495. The letter is dated 11th Nov., 1351. Through the kindness of the Town Clerk, I have been able to examine this seal. Unfortunately the seal is not mentioned as surviving in Canon Morris's transcriptions and translations of the city charters, and the Inventory in the Chester Muniments Room describes the seal as missing. The seal and queue, at present attached to the document, are affixed by a modern paper-clip! Thus it would be rash to insist that this seal was in use in 1351, and thus to identify it with the privy seal we know to have been in use after 1347 (Ancient Correspondence, LVI., No. 25). There is, however, no other surviving document of the Black Prince's at Chester to which this seal could belong. Thus it is very probably the privy seal in use from 1343 to 1362. A small lion, rampant, above the coat of arms is its distinguishing feature. For a description see *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society of Chester*, New Series, XVIII., 42. As the late Mr. James Hall who wrote this paper on "The Royal Charters and Grants to Chester," also compiled the Inventory, perhaps it was he who discovered this seal after the Inventory was completed.

² Described in *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 5555. See Additional Charters, No. 11308. Also see Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, Vol. III., No. 10132. This describes the same seal, appended to a precisely similar document, surviving in the French Archives Nationales. Diameter of Seal $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

³ Letters under the privy seal were issued from London throughout 1360. Two of these are dated Oct. 13 and Oct. 16. The privy seal accompanied Edward to Sandwich in the autumn of 1359, but on his departure for Calais returned to London (Misc. Books Ex., T.R., Nos. 278 and 279).

The two remaining seals are similar in size and were probably in use concurrently for a time. One of these appears in two slightly different forms at different dates. For convenience I shall call these two A and B, and the remaining seal C.¹ There is a cast of the first, A, in the British Museum, the date given for it in the *Catalogue of Seals* is 1340,² the second, B, has a similar cast for which the date is given as 1360.³ The latter also appears on documents written in London in July and August, 1362.⁴ See Plate II. opposite.

A and B both depict the prince's shield of arms *couché*, that is, the arms of France (ancient) and England quarterly, with a label of three points. Above this is a "helmet and chapeau turned up, ermine" upon which stands the crest, a lion of England with tail extended. On either side is an ostrich feather,⁵ and the whole is surrounded by an elaborately carved gothic panel.⁶ There are minute differences in the helmet, but more noticeable is the position of the shield. In B it is lying across the margin of the seal, thus occupying a portion of the space often taken up by the inscription. In A the shield is clear of this marginal edge, and there is therefore more room for lettering. Consequently it is not surprising to find A reading "Seal of Edward,

¹ The measurements vary a little. A and B, slightly dissimilar seals of the same pattern, are generally given as 2 inches (see *Catalogue of Seals*), while C was rather smaller ($1\frac{7}{8}$ inches). Sandford's drawing of A measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

² For description see *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 5554. There is a picture of this in Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 125.

³ *Catalogue of Seals*, Nos. 5552 and 5553.

⁴ See Diplomatic Documents 1106 and 1107. A description in Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, Vol. III., No. 10133, might be applied to either A or B as it is incomplete. This seal measures 55 millimetres, that is, slightly more than the 2 inches of the A and B casts. But the document is dated London, 13 August, 1362, which makes it pretty certain that the seal is B, not A, which only occurs in 1350.

⁵ The ostrich feather appears in a similar position on the seal of John, Duke of Bedford in 1413. See *Durham Seals* by William Greenwell and C. Hunter Blair, No. 3066. The whole design of this seal is very similar to A and B.

⁶ For a technical description of details see *Catalogue of Seals*. Here it is only necessary to note general features of similarity or dissimilarity. In the catalogue, however (No. 5554), A is described as having a beaded border and B (No. 5552) as not. In a surviving impression in the Public Record Office, which is certainly the same seal as 5552 or B, it also has quite clearly a beaded border. Sandford's picture of A omits the beaded border.

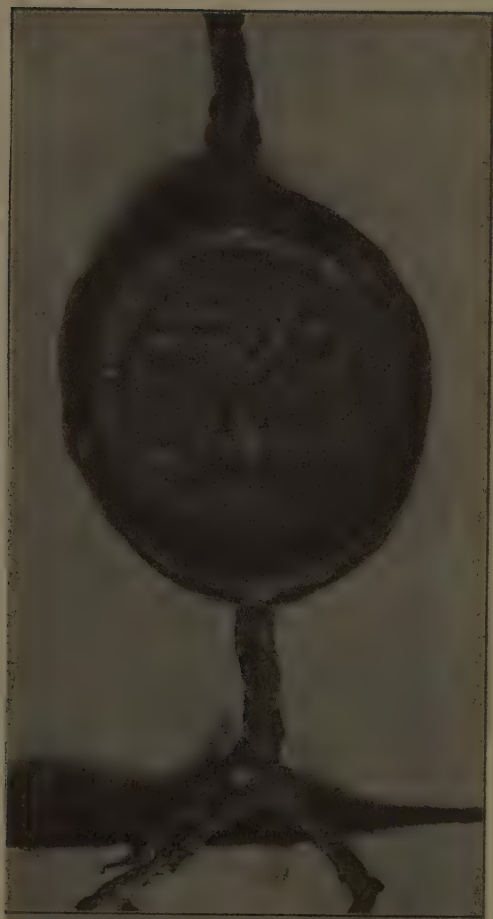


PLATE II.—SEAL B.

eldest son of the king of England and France, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester," while B omits any mention of France and describes the prince as "eldest son of the king of England".¹ In B the ostrich plumes bend outwards slightly more; in A, on the other hand, the plumes are labelled. The position of the standing lion is different in each case; also the lion of B certainly has a label of three points round its neck, while in A the mane may, or may not, hide a similar label.² The tail of the lion in B is short, ending on a level with his feet, while in A the tail extends as far as the tassel of the chapeau. The tracery of A is less elaborate than that of B. These distinctions, clear enough on a complete seal, make identification from fragments difficult.

It is impossible to determine exactly which seals these are. The earlier (A) survives only in a cast, and in Sandford's drawing, and from such unproductive sources it would be rash to assume it was the prince's privy seal in 1350. It is large for a privy seal (the diameter is 2 inches); on the other hand the wax is red, a sign of a household seal. Of the later seal B we know rather more. It was probably made after the signing of the Treaty of Calais in October, 1360, as we can guess from the omission of the description of Edward III. as king of France.³ Moreover, we fortunately find the later seal appended to a document. This is an acknowledgment by the Black Prince of the terms by which he was to hold Aquitaine, and a recitation of the grant to him;⁴ it is very formal in wording. The seal is attached by green and blue cords in the fashion of charters and the more solemn letters patent of the king's chancery. The document was issued at Westminster on 19th July, 1362 (the day of the grant of Aquitaine to the prince), "by witness of our seal used before we were Prince of Aquitaine". The same seal appears also on 13th August, 1362.⁵ The assumption from this is that it was the prince's most important seal, though whether it can be called his great or his privy seal, is still

¹ Probably the alteration in design was a necessary consequence of the Treaty of Calais of 1360. From 1360 to 1369 Edward III. omitted the title "king of France" in his descriptions of himself.

² In Sandford's drawing the label is clear.

³ *Supra*, note 1.

⁴ Given in *Foedera*, VI., 388 (1727 edition).

⁵ *Supra*, note 1.

perhaps a problem.¹ It was later superseded by another seal necessitated by the grant of Aquitaine; this probably was the great seal of which we know.² It cannot be discovered without further evidence whether A was continuously in use from 1350 to 1360, but, if so, it was probably kept in England the whole time, for we know that another seal was normally used when the prince was in Gascony during this period. B was in use between the autumn of 1360 and August, 1362, roughly.

Many examples survive of the remaining seal (C), though many are only fragments. This seal is very slightly smaller than A or B, and is similar in design.³ Instead, however, of ostrich plumes on either side of the helmet and chapeau, there are flowers and leaves branching inwards from the encircling panel. The inscription is the same as that of A, the lion has a label of three points round its neck, and the tail is short as in B. See Plate III. opposite. This seal appears frequently during 1356 and 1357,⁴ and twice in 1358.⁵ The British Museum

¹ There is little trace in the Black Prince's Registers or elsewhere that he possessed a chancery in the normally accepted sense before 1362. See p. . Even his most important letters were given by the privy seal. The only reference to a chancellor occurs in Nov. 1362, that is, some months after Edward became Prince of Aquitaine.

² Supra, p. 110, and note 5.

³ See *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 5557, which describes it as $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches, that is $\frac{1}{8}$ inch smaller than Nos. 5552 and 5554 (that is B and A).

⁴ See Exchequer Accounts (E.101) 171/5; 172/1; 169/2; 171/4 File 2; 172/3; 171/4 File 1, part 3. These are references to bundles of documents subsidiary to the accounts of the Constable of Bordeaux. Some of the letters are printed in Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, Appendix II.

⁵ See Diplomatic Documents, 1632, and W.S. Ancient Deeds 95. Caution is needed in dating these, as they are dated by the Christian year, which, however, was then reckoned as beginning on 25th March. Therefore W.S. Ancient Deeds 95, which is dated 20 Mar., 1357, was really issued in 1358, according to our mode of reckoning. Similarly a letter dated 6 Jan. 1355 was really issued in January, 1356 (E101/169/2). This method of dating from the Feast of the Annunciation was in general use by the fourteenth century in the English lands in France. See R. L. Poole, *The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages*, p. 22 (from the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. X.). The Black Prince's clerks clearly began the year at Lady Day, as is proved by Diplomatic Documents of the Exchequer, 1632, printed in *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts*, Part I., No. XXVIII. This is an undertaking from the Prince to pay certain Gascon lords a sum of money at certain fixed terms, namely at Michaelmas in the

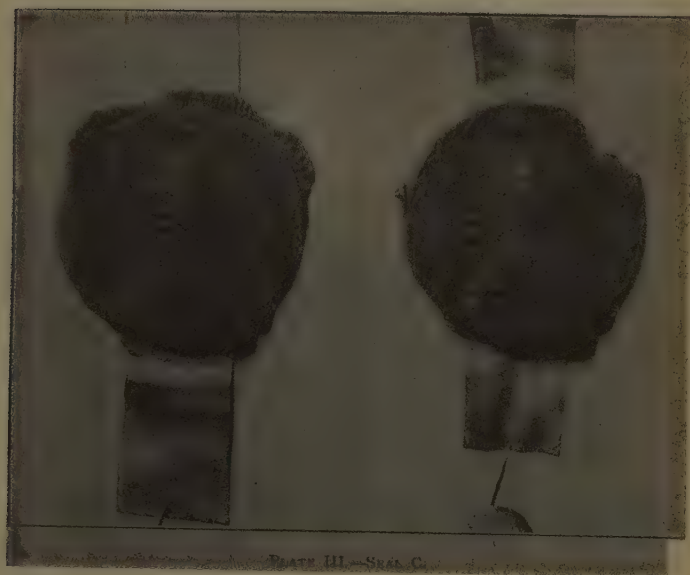


PLATE III.—SEAL C.

cast is dated 1361, but I have found no other evidence of its existence from 1358-1361. Every letter under this seal was issued in Gascony.

In September, 1355, the Prince of Wales left Plymouth for Bordeaux. Till 11th July letters under his privy seal are dated from London or Poplar, on 26th July onwards from Plympton or Plymouth till the first week in September when the prince sailed.¹ After that letters of privy seal were given at Westminster. The keeper of the privy seal at the time was Richard Wolveston, and he was clearly in London with the privy seal during a large part of the expedition to Aquitaine.² Thus the seal which was used in Gascony was not the normal privy seal, which was still regularly used in England. Edward returned to England on 4th May, 1357, landing at Plymouth.³ His privy seal letters continued to be issued in London till 8th May, but letters of 12th May and 20th May were given at Salisbury and Winchester respectively,⁴ which shows that when Edward was in England

same and the succeeding year. The deed was given at Bordeaux on the 12th February, 1357. The date 1357 is suspect from the modern standard of dating, if the year started in March. Later additions to the document say that the first instalment was paid "at the first term prescribed for payment . . . as appears in the pell of the 14th day of November of the 32nd year of the king's reign". The year 32 Edward III., by exchequer reckoning, began at Michaelmas, 1358. Therefore it is clear that the original agreement must have been drawn up in the February preceding, which we should describe as February, 1358, but which was then described as February 1357. The letters printed by Moisant in Appendix II of *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine* are professedly arranged in chronological order, but those at the beginning dated January, 1356, should really come later under 1357.

¹ A letter of 6th September from Plymouth was warranted "by the prince himself on board his ship in the port of Plymouth on his departure for Gascony"; Misc. Books Exch., T.R., 278, p. 92. He sailed from Plymouth on 8th September (*D.N.B.*) or 9th September (*Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, p. 31).

² Wolveston was acting as keeper from 1st June, 1355; he was appointed on 30th June, and was still acting in December, 1356, and probably in July, 1357. I do not know his successor; possibly he continued to act for much longer. See the Misc. Books Exch., T.R., 278 and 279.

³ *D.N.B.* Moisant thinks that he landed at Sandwich (*Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, p. 63), but the statements of Villani and Froissart, whose authority he cites, cannot be accepted in face of the information given by more reliable chroniclers.

⁴ Misc. Books Ex., T.R., 279. The places where these letters were given effectively proves that Edward was travelling from Plymouth to London, not from Sandwich.

his privy seal still itinerated with him. The seal C appears frequently on letters from Gascony during the absence of the prince's, that is till April, 1357. But even after his return two letters were issued from Gascony under it. Perhaps the seal was left behind to complete any business connected with Edward's visit, or perhaps amidst the divers methods of dating which may have been used, we interpret the dates of these two wrongly.¹

Before Edward left England arrangements were made for the administration of his lands during his absences and for vesting him with the requisite authority on his arrival in Gascony.² Amongst these preparations were the making of a special seal for use in Gascony, and it is recorded that John Greenwich, the goldsmith, received £4 17s. 1d. in payment for a seal "weighing thirty-seven shillings and a penny".³ During the next two years one seal was frequently used by the prince in Gascony and never elsewhere. It is therefore pretty certain that the two are identical. In this case the seal (C) used in Gascony was not the privy seal; it was, however, a household, not a great seal, for the wax used was red. Sometimes this seal was called the privy seal,⁴ but more often "the seal".⁵ The latter description was always given in the donatory clause of letters issued in Gascony. Sometimes later on it was referred to as "the seal he (the prince) used in Gascony". Its authority was certainly co-equal with that of the seal used previously in England; witness an order to the Justice and Chamberlain of Chester to execute mandates under it in the same way that they had carried out earlier warrants from the prince under the seal he had used in England.⁶ But the seal used in England during the prince's absence was possibly regarded with greater veneration there, for letters originally given in Gascony and making grants in

¹ Diplomatic Documents, 1682, and W.S. Ancient Deeds 95. The latter contains two letters; in one the date is almost impossible to read. See footnote 5, p. 114.

² See Misc. Books Ex., T.R., No. 278, p. 88. Also *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1355, p. 264.

³ Misc. Books Ex., T.R., 278, p. 97. This money was paid in the prince's chamber on 14th June, 1355.

⁴ Letters at Westminster under the privy seal were issued for example "by letter of warrant under the privy seal which came from Gascony".

⁵ For example "be it remembered that this letter was dated in England by command of Sir John of Wingfield although the seal was then in Gascony".

⁶ Misc. Books Ex., T.R., 279, p. 135.

England, were frequently reissued by some English authority, either by the prince's secretarial department at Westminster or by a local chamberlain such as the chamberlain of Chester.

The Jodrell pass was issued at Bordeaux in December, 1355, that is, during the period when the seal we have called C was in use. The most noticeable feature of the fragments of the Jodrell's seal remaining, is the shield *couché*, but it is clear that flowers and leaves, not ostrich plumes, filled the spaces on either side of the central helmet and lion. Thus the seal is clearly identical with C. I have been unable to trace the drawing with which the seal was earlier identified.¹ The drawing is inaccurate if it is intended to be of the seal C, for example, the position of the lion is slightly different, the tail is waving aloft, the tassel of the chapeau is too long. The inscription on the drawing is similar in wording, but dissimilar in contraction and placing to that of the real seal. The drawing in fact cannot be identified with any known seal of the prince's. Moreover, it is some $\frac{1}{12}$ of an inch larger in diameter than the seal on the pass, and its evidence can therefore be disregarded.

The seal on the Jodrell pass is the earliest example of this seal for use in Gascony. The next surviving is on a letter dated January, 1356,² one month later than the pass to William Jodrell. The latter, however, is on parchment, and the seal is affixed by a simple queue; the former is the only example of this seal *plaque*, and of its use on a paper warrant.

¹ This is described as "a facsimile of the Black Prince's seal to an original pass, taken Feb. 1870 from a copy in Randle Holmes' Folio, 1688". Three books of "The Academy of Armory" by Randle Holmes were printed in one volume in 1688, but lack of funds prevented the publication of the fourth book. This, however, was printed by the Roxburgh Club in 1905. Neither of these volumes contains a drawing of the Prince's seal.

² E101/171/5.

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate I. is a reduced reproduction of the Jodrell pass in the possession of the Jodrell family, photographed in the studio of the John Rylands Library, and published with the permission of Colonel and Mrs. H. Ramsden-Jodrell. Plates II. and III. are photographed by Messrs. Monger and Marchant, and issued by the permission of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Plate II. comes from Diplomatic Documents of the Exchequer, No. 1106; and Plate III. from W.S. Ancient Deeds, No. 95. The latter represents two different examples of the same seal.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE — RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

BY H. C. HOSKIER.

I.

FOR all practical purposes we have the series of John's Apocalyptic visions as he saw and recorded them. The exact details of the primal text we shall never recover. As in the other books of the N.T., original readings are scattered throughout our various surviving documents, but are not inherent as a whole in any one of our oldest MSS. or Versions.

We have sought among all our junior documents for further keys, and for control of the readings of our elder documents. The results are in some respects disappointing. However, there exist a number of tenth, eleventh, and twelfth century Greek witnesses—all copied quite faithfully from older sources—which throw much light on the transmission of the text.

After going through the existing two hundred "cursive" MSS. of the Apocalypse in Greek, I have dislodged certain facts from the mass, and, without dogmatising, propose to exhibit some of the results, before final tabulated publication in book-form.

Never before has a comprehensive examination such as this been undertaken of any book of the New Testament. I selected the Apocalypse simply because it was possible for an individual to handle the matter within his lifetime, as the supply of known MSS. was sufficiently small to make this feasible.

The task is now almost complete.

Without taking up space at this introductory point to make a long list of the MSS. as I designate them by numbers—because I will give the corresponding library mark and locality of each one mentioned particularly—I may state :—

1st. That if Erasmus had striven to found a text on the largest *number* of existing MSS. in the world of *one type*, he could not have succeeded better, since his family-MSS. occupy the front rank in point of actual *numbers*, the family numbering over 20 MSS., besides its allies.

moda para o dia a dia. - in: *moda para o dia a dia*. - in: *moda para o dia a dia*.

10. $\frac{1}{2} \log \frac{1}{2}$

12. 10. 1900

ΑΔΙΚΑΡΙΟΘΕΝΑΤΙΝΩΣΙΩΝΙΔΙΔ

1. СЕМАНТИКА - наука о значении слов, фраз, предложений, текстов.

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

1. The first part of the manuscript is a list of names of people who were present at the meeting. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, Thomas White, Robert Black, Charles Green, Henry Lee, George King, Edward Clark, and Benjamin Hall. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column.

2. The second part of the manuscript is a list of names of people who were present at the meeting. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, Thomas White, Robert Black, Charles Green, Henry Lee, George King, Edward Clark, and Benjamin Hall. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column.

3. The third part of the manuscript is a list of names of people who were present at the meeting. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, Thomas White, Robert Black, Charles Green, Henry Lee, George King, Edward Clark, and Benjamin Hall. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column.

4. The fourth part of the manuscript is a list of names of people who were present at the meeting. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, Thomas White, Robert Black, Charles Green, Henry Lee, George King, Edward Clark, and Benjamin Hall. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column.

5. The fifth part of the manuscript is a list of names of people who were present at the meeting. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, Thomas White, Robert Black, Charles Green, Henry Lee, George King, Edward Clark, and Benjamin Hall. The names are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a single column.

2nd. That I have not found a MS. of the Complutensian family group which contains the singularities of the printed text, and these are most likely all errors of the press. Stunica's printed text varies from the strict family type in but few places. This Complutensian family now includes over a dozen MSS.

3rd. I am listing my MSS. by numbers from 1 to 230, following the old numeration as far as it will go, and afterwards adopting my own, because it is impossible to do otherwise, for Gregory has made three changes in his system of numeration, making it impossible to be followed, and no one would wish to adopt Soden's system, which is one of the most trying and unsatisfactory which I know.

Thus, the new *tenth century* MS. from Meteora in Thessaly, discovered just before the war (Libr. mark 573 X 1) becomes Apoc. 200 in my list. It was unknown to Gregory, and does not appear in Von Soden's lists, although he used it at the last moment, and calls it "*a* 1073."

We will begin by a review of this important MS. because Von Soden reports its readings but partially, and because it has a subscription of the highest interest in these studies.

There appear to be three MSS. of the Apoc. at Meteora which have never been catalogued in our lists of sacred codices. We shall number them 200, 201, and 202.

Two of these are by the same scribe in part, but the texts are of widely differing interest.

Apoc. 200 (Meteora 573) is by far the most important, in fact in the whole range of our documents there is none more important.

Apoc. 201 represents a commentary MS. and runs only to *xiv.* 5.¹ The last leaf extant is crumpled and damaged, and the

¹ Von Soden (Text-Band, p. 896). This is apparently his *a* 1072, but he says it has a "chain" commentary whereas it is our 202 which has one.

Von Soden's *a* 1073 must be our Apoc. 200 (Meteora 573), although he gives no library mark. This MS. is said now to be in Germany.

Harnack gives us to understand that the scribe of 201 is the same as the scribe of 200, but this is incorrect. The writer of 200 begins 201, but quite another hand goes on at i. 16 *fin.* At iii. 14 the original hand resumes, but is displaced again after v. 5 by the second (contemporary) but rounder hand, and they hold on and off thenceforward alternately.

remaining portion has doubtless perished long since. This is said to be bound with the previous document.

Apoc. 202 (*Meteora* 237) is an eleventh century and early exponent of the Complutensian type.

APOC. 200 (*Meteora* 573 X 1). Unknown to Gregory (*Soden* = *a* 1073).

This MS. was photographed for me by H. Jantsch in 1912, with two others of the *Apoc.* in this monastery. It appears that there are other monasteries with libraries on the mount, but these three are from the main *Meteora* monastery. A notice appeared in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Alterthum* for 1912, pp. 542-553, by J. Draeseke on the whole subject of this Thessalian mount, and another in *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Jahrgang* 13 (1912), pp. 260 ff., the latter dealing with our MS., but I have not seen this article. The volume would seem to be one of *Miscellanies*, and like that containing *Apoc.* 143, to have a rich surprise in store for us.

It is said that many of the *Meteora* MSS. were taken away to Europe in former centuries, and many found their way to the library at Athens. But this one was worth a long journey to fish up from the dusty shelves of *Meteora*, and we must deal with it, late along as it comes in our lists, with very particular attention.

The inscription is—

αποκαλυψις ἰωαννοῦ τ' θεολογ' (*cum Steph.*)

but it is with the *subscription* that we must concern ourselves before dealing with the text, for it has a peculiar character of its own.

Immediately after the close of the last chapter, we read :—

ἐπλήρωθῃ ἡ ἀποκά·

λῦσις τοῦ ἁγίου ἰω

αννοῦ τοῦ θεολόγ'.

στιχῶν ᾤ :—

and then immediately follows a touching subscription, which can be rendered :—

“O Lord, through the privileges of Holy John the theologian (or ‘God’s spokesman’), concede [forgiveness] for all my sins, and if I have tripped in any sentence, or phrase, or in the order of

words, or in an accent, or in a single word, or in any other thing—unwittingly or wittingly—pity Theodosius, O Lord, sinner above all men, and my spiritual children, friends and brethren. Amen.”

Theodosius the scribe therefore claims that he copied as faithfully as he knew how to do. Fortunately we have an extraneous check, because another MS. at Meteora (apparently bound up in the same volume as this one) was partially executed by him, and this type is quite different.

I believe, therefore, that Theodosius did his best with the transcription of Apoc. 200 from a very ancient text.

This can be proved in many ways. One thing quite noticeable is the spelling of *χειλια*, *χειλιαδες*, which is constant throughout, although not found in other MSS., while in the other copy which he executed in part this peculiarity does not appear; nor *θιου*, *θιω* for *θειου*, *θειω*, which Apoc. 200 has throughout alone with *ς*. (We have even *θιωδεις* alone in ix. 17.)

On the other hand *κρυσταλ* . . . or *κρυσταλλ* . . . varies, and we waver between *ενωπιον* and *ενοπιον*, *μετωπων* and *μετοπων*.

Certain other itacisms are rarely present, and *ι* for *η* not very often. *υ* for *ι* only once. Iota postscript *once* only (iii. 3 *γνωσηι*). *υ* *εφελκ*. occurs throughout. *ιδου* throughout, and without breathing. Where breathings are given they are throughout absolutely angular.

We have to do with a very old (tenth century) cursive. Accents are irregular and rather sparse. It is an educated handwriting. Therefore the mass of itacisms and blunders evidently represent a faithful copying of an older and uncial MS., confirmed by the very touching and humble subscription of the scribe.

The breathings, all very square, are often incorrect, as *ου̇* for *ου̇*, and many accents are missing altogether on a string of words at a time.

We have here a very interesting proposition. Not only does he write uniformly *φιλαδελφιαν*, *λαοδικιαν*, *πτωχίαν*, but the converse *ευχαριστηίαν*, an equally good signal of age, all pointing to an intrinsically old exemplar, but when we meet with *ιουδαιων* for *ιουδαιους* in ii. 9 we know we have the real thing and a most ancient base (see

C 143 *aeth*). Immediately following this we have a novelty, the MS. being without the word “synagogue.” It will not do to put

this aside too summarily, for it may (in the earliest times) have been imported from the other passage (iii. 9). It has always seemed to be a strange and rather objectionable phrase: "but of the *synagogue* of Satan." Our MS. simply says: "ἀλλὰ τοῦ σατανᾶ," *ιουδαιων* and *του σατανα* now corresponding, without *συναγωγη*. The other MSS., which read *ιουδαιων* in the genitive do not suppress *συναγωγη*, so that this MS. may take us back to a still older substratum of text than they do.¹ The first chapter makes this clear, for the exceptional readings have good and sufficient support to entitle them to our most serious consideration. Thus, although i. 2 is a surprise (*αυτου pro ιω χυ*), the omission of *λεγει* at i. 8 is confirmed by 170 and was apparently so read by *Tertullian* (*Prax*) and by *Hippolytus*, than whom we can produce no earlier witnesses; therefore, while *βιβλιον* (-εις) at i. 11 and *ως εκ καμινου pro ως εν καμινω* at i. 15 have no support as yet, *τις pro ήτις* in i. 12 is supported by 99 and 170 (both witnesses of unimpeachable ancient bases) and -*ναι* at i. 7 = *boh* (cf. *h*) while *Prim* has *ita* and not *etiam*. So we are in the midst of very old things (which really go behind *Σ*, behind Irenaeus' translator and Gwynn's Syriac) as to all these important key-cursives like the present, and like 130, 170, etc. It will not do therefore to dismiss the *κατέχων* of our MS. for *καὶ ἔχων* of the mass at i. 16, for the Patmos MS. (Apoc. 178) so reads in another similar place (x. 2) confirmed by its sister 38, and *καὶ ἔχων* may just as well have grown out of an original and forcible *κατέχων* as *κατέχων* have been miscopied for *καὶ ἔχων*.

A special feature here is that the stranger readings do not have the usual version support. At least, where they support, it is due, no doubt, to a real part of the *underlying* Greek text, and is not reflex version action. The difference between this and other exceptional MSS. lies in this very thing, that when we look into the majority of the idiosyncracies of our MS. we do *not* find *syr S* and other versions conspiring with it, and this rules out *secondary* version influence. So that, whatever be its merits, this text is very old, in fact amongst the oldest which we have. Its continuous agreement with uncial forms

¹ Our MS. makes a point of this matter because at ii. 24 it adds *του θεου* *αλλα* between *βαθη* and *του σατανα*, reading: *υμιν δε λεγω και τοις λοιποισ τοις εν θνατηροις οι ουκ εχουσι την διδαχην ταυτην οιτινες ουκ εγνωσαν τα βαθη του θεου αλλα του σατανα, ως λεγεται ουν ου βαλω κ.τ.λ.*

proves this, but much else besides.¹ Yet at xiii. 11 + *τω ante αρνω* is only found in the Graeco-Latin family 7, and therefore the source of this must be retranslation from Latin, where the translator unconsciously added the Greek article. Again, at xvi. 8 *τοις ανθρωποις* might be retranslation. Observe *Prim* has *hominibus*.

Note at x. 3 the participial form for the Lion roaring, only countenanced by 19 and *Prim* (*aeth*). Yet Horner so translates his *boh*, although the *boh* appears to agree with Greek *μυκαται* (or *βρυχαται*), so easy is it for a translator to glide into error. So *Prim* "rugiens."

The only unusual contractions are *παρνοι* for *παρθενοι* at xiv. 4 and *αππ* for *αποστολων* at xxi. 14. Some forms go with MSS. 81 and 104. Maybe our scribe was a stranger, transplanted to Thesalian soil. There is also sympathy with 12 and 14-92. Possibly *πεπτωκα* at iii. 17 for *πεπλουτηκα*, and vii. 2 *ανεμοις* for *αγγελοις* are due to the original, or to infirmity. There are half a dozen "*monstra*" (notwithstanding the subscription), e.g. *στοματος* for *θρονου* (water proceeding out of the *mouth* of God) at xxii. 1 (of which 92 is also guilty); *λυχνιας* for *δεξιας* at i. 20; *εκαθαρισθη* for *εθερισθη* at xiv. 16. As to xxi. 1 "empty" for "new," it is deliberately supported by *ξ* twice over, as well as the variation *και ην* for *καινην* in xiv. 3.

At x. 3 *βιβλαριον* is agreed to by A, but is more consistently used by Apoc. 200 and may have preceded both *βιβλαριδιον* and *βιβλιδαριον*, because *βιβλαριον* or *βιβλιαριον* would seem to be the correct form. (*Justin*, however, uses *βιβλιδιον*.)

There are practically no corrections, and nothing in the margin, except at xiii. 3, where *του θανατου*, omitted, is supplied in margin, and in ch. vii. and xvi. there are numerals *marg.* opposite the lists of tribes and angels.

The mention in the subscription of a thousand *στιχοι* is interesting, but these are not shown.

One of the principal innovations, which *should* assist to date some of the readings, is to be found at iii. 16, but even here the reading was in doubt in the time of *ξ*. If our reading were the real one, it would be strange, however, that the *εμεσαι* reading should have

¹ Note that where *Oxyr*¹⁰⁸⁰ (fourth century fragment) is extant we go with it (iv. 2-3).

become so stereotyped in all other documents but two. I refer to the church of Laodicea.

Instead of : Because thou art neither cold nor hot, “μελλω σε εμεσαι εκ του στοματος μου,” \aleph had already substituted : “πανσε του στοματος σου” (“cease thy drivell”), and *aeth* (Walton) *omits* the clause, having probably found a conflation, marginal notes, or something unintelligible in his copy. Now the conflation is exhibited by 38-178 and 156-188, who write : “μελλω σε εμεσαι και ελεγχω σε εκ του στοματος σου” (σου 178, μου 38 and 156-188). It remains for our MS. 200 to give this half of the conflation in full *without* the εμεσαι clause, reading thus : “ελεγχω σε εκ του στοματος σου.” There is no support except by *arm* 1, 2, 3, who, however, reverse the order and adopt St. Luke’s order, “out of thine own mouth will I judge thee.” In St. Luke, however, the word used is *κρινω* and not *ελεγχω*, and this may be a coincidence on the part of *arm*.

Let me make clear the general situation here, lest readers do not grasp the full import of the matter.

None of our Latins or Church Fathers seem to know any reading but the standard one of μελλω σε εμεσαι εκ του στοματος μου, nor does Gwynn’s Syriac, nor the Coptic.

But already in Aleph’s day, however, there *was* a variation known, and an altogether strange one, viz. the substitution : πανσε του στοματος σου, the σε remaining, the εκ disappearing, and μου being replaced by σου.

Along comes *Aroc.* 200 with another substitution : ελεγχω σε εκ του στοματος σου, the εκ now remaining, and the ελεγχω naturally followed by the σου of \aleph .

The unimpeachably ancient testimony of 38-178,¹ now comes in to exhibit the *double* reading :—

“μελλω σε εμεσαι και ελεγχω σε εκ του στοματος σου.” Again, at iv. 4, we join that most notable combination of \aleph , 130, 143, 178 for εν λευκοις (-ιματιοις), surely the basic reading here. (See my note under Apoc. 143.) And we go beyond them all at iii. 4, omitting εν λευκοις altogether there.

¹ My 178 is the Patmos MS. No. 12 (*Greg.* 178, *Soden* a406, but apparently not thought worthy of a place in his apparatus!) I have now identified the fragments of the uncial MS. F as being of this family. Also the MSS. 67-120 as being the same as the MS. E.

Here are some of the readings which agree especially with our "uncial" transmission (remember, after elimination of two hundred cursive documents) :—

[Comparison with the text of Stephen, 1550, as reprinted by Scrivener.]

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| i. 19. | + δὴ <i>post à tert</i> | with \aleph^*C alone |
| ii. 9. | ιουδαιων ειναι εαυτοις | with $\aleph C$ 143 <i>aeth arm</i> ³ |
| iii. 1. | εκκλησιαις <i>pro</i> εκκλησιας | with C alone |
| iv. 2 <i>fin.</i> | καθημενον <i>pro</i> καθημενος | with Oxyr ¹⁰⁸⁰ alone |
| vii. 1. | - της (<i>ante</i> θαλασσης) | with A 127 |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | επι δενδρον <i>absque</i> τι <i>vel</i> παν | with A alone (<i>επι δενδρα aeth</i>
<i>copt arm</i>) |
| viii. 3. | - το <i>ante</i> ενωπιον | with \aleph alone |
| 10. | ωσπερ λαμπας <i>pro</i> ως λαμπας | with F alone |
| 11. | ως αφινθιον <i>pro</i> εις αφινθον | with F alone (<i>cf. h copt syr S</i>
<i>Prim</i>) |
| ix. 1. | αστερας <i>pro</i> αστερα | } with \aleph^* alone |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | πεπτωκοτας <i>pro</i> πεπτωκοτα | |
| 4. | αδικησουσιν <i>pro</i> αδικησωσι | with A alone |
| x. 7. | τους εαυτου δουλους <u>και</u> τους
προφητας | with \aleph alone (and <i>aeth</i>) |
| 9. | βιβλάριον | with A^* alone here (but A
abandons this, while Apoc.
200 uses it all through) |
| xi. 18. | τους μικρους και τους μεγαλους | with $\aleph CA$ (no cursives) |
| xiv. 3. | και ην (<i>pro</i> καιην) | with \aleph alone |
| 18. | + ό (<i>ante</i> εχων) | with CA alone (and <i>syr gig</i>) |
| 19. | του μεγα (<i>pro</i> την μεγαλην) | with A 18 |
| xvi. 6. | δεδωκας (<i>pro</i> εδωκας) | with CA alone |
| xvii. 6. | ἴδα <i>pro</i> εἶδον | with A alone (<i>ειδα</i> \aleph) |
| 15. | ταυτα <i>pro</i> τα υδατα | with \aleph^* 130 |
| 17. | αυτων <i>pro</i> αυτου | with \aleph^a alone |
| xviii. 11. | εν αυτη <i>pro</i> επ αυτη | with A alone |
| 18. | + ταυτη <i>post</i> πολει | with C 104 <i>latt arm boh</i> |
| xix. 15. | [του οινου] της οργης του
θυμου (- και) | } with \aleph alone |
| 20. | ἐν θίῳ (<i>sic</i> , - τῳ) | |
| xxi. 6. | - τῳ <i>ante</i> διψωντι | with P 146 † |
| xxii. 8. | εβλεπων (<i>vult</i> εβλεπον) <i>pro</i>
εβλεψα | with A 146 † |

† 146 is the representative MS. of \mathfrak{C} ecumenius, never yet published.

Besides the matters of spelling, such as : iv. 6 *και εμμεσω* with A 114, 130 ; v. 6 *εμμεσω bis* with A alone ; vi. 6 *εμμεσω* with CA alone ; vi. 8 *αποκτιναι* and vi. 14 *εκεινηθησαν* with C alone ; vii. 7 *χειλιαδες ter*, so *Σ* once ; vii. 8 *χειλιαδες ter*, so *Σ* twice ; ix. 17 *θιον pro θεϊον* with *Σ*CA alone ; ix. 18 *θιου pro θειου* with CA alone ; xiv. 10 *θιω pro θειω* with C alone ; xviii. 3 *πορνιαις*, so *Σ*C ; xxi. 1 *οὐνον κενὸν* with *Σ* alone and *arm*⁴ ; *ibid.* *καὶ γῆν κενήν* with *Σ* alone and *arm*⁴ ; *ibid.* *απηλθαν* with *Σ*A alone ; xxi. 8 *θιω* with *Σ* alone.

Before going further, I submit that the above is a very remarkable showing indeed, if we remember that we have painfully traversed the ground of 200 cursives to arrive at it. It shows indubitably a direct foundation text of no mean age, by which I imply that we can say confidently that a document directly underlies Apoc. 200 coeval with our oldest uncial witnesses.

We will now proceed with some of the rarer readings and their attestation. Instead of separating them into groups, we will take them in order as they come :—

- | | | |
|--------------|--|---|
| i. 6. | ἡμῶν <i>pro</i> ἡμᾶς | with C and <i>h harl</i> |
| 7. | — <i>ναι</i> | with <i>boh</i> (<i>cf. h Prim</i>) |
| 8. | — <i>λεγει</i> | with 170 and <i>Tert Hipp</i> |
| 9 <i>fñ.</i> | — <i>χριστου</i> | with <i>Σ</i> CAP <i>al. aliq. et Dionys.</i> |
| 10. | — <i>τη ante κυριακη</i> | with <i>fam</i> 16, 121, 143 (— <i>εν τη κυριακη ημερα</i> 146) |
| 11. | — <i>και (post εφεσον, σμυρναν, περγαμον, θυατηρα, σαρδην sic)</i> | with 100, <i>fam</i> 119 <i>et Beatus</i> |
| 12. | <i>τις pro ητις</i> | with 99, 170 |
| 13. | <i>λύχνων pro λυχνίων</i> | with 121 only |
| 14. | <i>και pro λευκον, ita: ωσι εριον και ωσ χιων</i> | with 8, 24, <i>h syr S</i> (<i>Om λευκον Prim Cyp</i>) |
| 18. | + <i>ως ante νεκρος</i> | with (114) 178 <i>aeth</i> |
| ii. 5. | <i>μνημονευσον ουν</i> | with 38-178, 81, 130 |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | — <i>ταχει</i> | with <i>Σ</i> CAP 56, 130, 146, <i>gig copt syr S aeth arm plur Patr.</i> |
| 6. | <i>α εγω μισω pro α καγω μισω</i> | with 12, 106, <i>aeth syr S</i> |
| 8. | <i>ανεζησεν pro εξησεν</i> | with 67-120 |
| 14. | — <i>εκει</i> | with 62-63, 97-122 |
| 23. | <i>καρδιας και νεφρους</i> | with 51-90, 114, 127, 130, <i>copt arm aeth Vict Vigil</i> |

<i>Ibid. fin.</i>	αυτου <i>pro</i> υμων	with 38 [non 178] <i>arm copt</i>
24.	οι <i>pro</i> οσοι	with \aleph^a 130, <i>arm Auct^{quaest.}</i>
28.	— τον <i>ante</i> αστερα	with 130
iii. 2.	γενου <i>pro</i> γίνου	with 130
3.	— ουν <i>prim</i>	with \aleph 14, 16, 63, 69, <i>gig</i> <i>aeth syr S Prim</i>
4.	αλλ εχω (<i>pro</i> εχεις) ολιγα ονο- ματα	with <i>syr S arm⁴ (copt)</i>
5.	— εν	with 106 <i>syr S</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	απαλειψω <i>pro</i> εξαλειψω	with 38-178
12.	— του θεου <i>sec. loco</i>	with 103 <i>syr S</i> and Σ
† 20.	μετ' αυτον <i>pro</i> προς αυτου	with 14*, 67 <i>copt arm syr S</i>
iv. 3.	[και ο καθημενος] — ην	with \aleph ABP <i>Oxyr</i> ¹⁰⁸⁰ <i>al. syr S</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	ομοιως ως ορασις	with 38
4.	[και επι τους θρονους] — ειδον τους εικοσι και τεσσαρας	} with 12, 38-178 (\aleph)
<i>Ibid.</i>	εν λευκοις (— ιματιοις)	
8.	εν εκαστον αυτων	with \aleph 130, 143 178 <i>arm^{uno}</i> with \aleph 38-178 <i>syr S</i>
v. 3.	+ ουτε <i>ante</i> εν τω ουρανω	with 36 <i>et latt Prim</i>
5.	— ο ων	with \aleph 14, 28**, 32, 127, 146, 178 <i>gig copt syr S</i>
10.	βασιλειαν και ιερεις	with A 56, 130 <i>copt latt (conf.</i> <i>aeth syr S)</i>
vi. 6.	— τεσσαρων	with 40 <i>syr S</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	κριθων <i>pro</i> κριθης	with \aleph CAP <i>pauc. et syr Σ</i>
8.	— ονομα αυτω (<i>post</i> επανω αυτου)	} with 40
<i>Ibid.</i>	ηκολουθη οπισω αυτου (<i>pro</i> ακολουθει μετ αυτου)	
10.	κρίνης <i>pro</i> κρίνεις	with 1, 16, 32, 39, 67, 69
<i>Ibid.</i>	ἐκδικήσεις <i>pro</i> ἐκδικεῖς	with \aleph (<i>prob.</i> = <i>ενδικησεις</i>)
11.	τινα <i>pro</i> ετι	with 178 (38 = <i>ετι τινα</i>)
<i>Ibid.</i>	εως αυ <i>pro</i> εως ου	with 178
13.	επι <i>pro</i> εις	with \aleph <i>al. aliq. copt syr</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	αποβαλλούσα <i>pro</i> βαλλει	with 100 (<i>βαλλουσα</i> \aleph 18, 56, 130, 146 <i>al.</i> ; <i>βαλουσα</i> <i>al.</i> ; <i>αποβαλλει</i> 21, 28, 37, 73, 79, 80, 103 <i>gig</i>)

† This partially explains the strange και εισελευσομαι of \aleph B and so many.

17. *αυτων pro αυτου* with \aleph C 18, 38-178, 130, 146
gig syr SΣ

(This is a noteworthy change: "the great day of *their* wrath," instead of "the great day of *His* wrath.")

- vii. 2. - *ηλιου* with 59* *aeth*
Ibid. - *αυτοις* with *minn quindecim gig copt*

(This is one of the Seer's famous redundant relative constructions, probably original: "ἀγγέλοις οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.")

10. + *επι ante τω αρνω* with B 40
 13. *τας λευκας στολας* with *fam* 21 (C)
 16. - *ουδε διψησουσιν ετι* with 109 *gr.*
 viii. 3. - *αγγελος* with *syr S solo*
 ix. 4. *μηδε pro ουδε bis* with 178 (38)
 8. *γυναικος pro γυναικων* with 16 *arm plur*
 11. + *γλωσση post ελληνικη* with *h gig Prim* (+ *ρησει* 38-178, *fam* 119)
 14. *τω εχοντι pro ος ειχε* with *fam* 34
 17. - *ουτως* with 38, 146 *arm plur et Prim*
 20. - *τα ante αργυρα, χαλκα, λιθινα et ξυλινα* } with 36, 130
 x. 3. *μοικωμενος pro μυκαται* with 19 *μυκομενος. So aeth Prim* (Observe *μοικαται* by C)
Ibid. *ταις εαυτων φωναῖς* with \aleph 7-45 *gig syr S*
 9. *απηλθα* with A *al. pauc.*
 10. *κατέφαγα αὐτῷ· sic* with 36
Ibid. *εφαγα pro εφαγον* with 36, 59
Ibid. *εγεμισθη pro επικραυθη* with \aleph 130 *f gig arm Prim Beatus*
Ibid. fin. + *πικριας* with \aleph^a 130 *f gig arm Beatus*
 xi. 5. *θελησει αυτους (pro αυτους θελη sec.)* with 38, 127 (*cf. NA*)
 9. *αφιωσιν pro αφησουσι* with 130
 11. *τας τρεις ημισυ ημερας (- και sec.)* } with 14-92, 38-178, 100
Ibid. *στησονται pro εστησαν* with 38-178
 13. *ανδρων pro ανθρωπων* with 130
 18. + *επ αυτους post η οργη σου* with 38-178
Ibid. *εθνων pro νεκρων* with 38-178, 146 *al. pauc.*
 19. + *ο inter θεου et εν τω ουρανω* with CA 14-92, *fam* 34, 38-178, 95-127 *copt*

- xii. 4. τεξη *pro* τεκη with 40
 6. ηχεν *pro* εχει [*absque* εκει] with *h vg syr*
Ibid. + αυτη *post* ητοιμασμενου with 36, 178, *copt aeth arm^{duo}*
 xiii. 17. μηδεις *pro* μητις with *fam* 34, 130, *sah boh*
 xiv. 6. εν μεσωδρανιματι *sic* with 104 (N*) [*Etiam* xix. 17]
Ibid. ευαγγελισασθαι + επι *cf.* NCAP *fam* 34, 130, *syr S*
 9. της χειρος *pro* την χειρα with 18, *fam* 119
 13. φωνην μεγαλην (*pro* φωνης) with 130 *copt*
Ibid. γαρ *pro* δε with NCAP 18, 26, 38-178,
 95-127, 107, 146, *gig Prim*
 14 *fin.* οξυν *pro* οξυ with *fam* 21 and 170
 xv. 4. τις σε ου μη φοβηθη κε̅ with 178
 6. + αυτων *post* στηθη with *copt aeth arm syr Anon*
 xvi. 3. - αγγελος with NCAP 18, 95-127, 130,
 146, *aeth*
 4. εγενοντο with A 36, 56, 95-127, 100,
 130, 146, *syr aeth copt Prim*
 14. - εκεινης with N 14-92, 38-178, 146-
 155, *vg gig copt aeth arm*
Tich Anon
 xvii. 4. και ακαθαρτα της πορνειας } with 40
 της γης }
 8. εν τω βιβλιω *pro* επι το βιβ- } with 95-127 *gig arm syr S*
 λιον } *Prim*
 xviii. 2. δαιμονιων with NAB 95-127, 146 only
Ibid. + και φυλακη παντος θηριου } with A 35, 132, *gig aeth* (34,
 ακαθαρτου και μεμνημενου } 156 *Prim*)
 12. χρυσίου (*pro* χρυσοῦ) with 18, 36, *Hipp*
Ibid. αργυριου with 12, 18, *fam* 25, 36, *Hipp*
 xviii. 13. ιππους *pro* ιππων with 56, 95-127, 130 (*ιπποι*
 146)
 14. - τα ante λαμπρα with NC 36, 40, 59, 106, 119,
 121, 146
 16. χρυσῶ (- εν) with 18, 92, 146-155 (*auro*
latt)
Ibid. μαργαρίτη *pro* μαγαρίταις with NCAP 95-127, 146, *copt*
Prim
 17. και πας ο επι τον τοπον πλεων with NB 178
 19. εκραξαν *pro* εκραζον with CA 35, 120, *vg arm syr*
S Hipp
 21. + η ante πολις with 40

22 <i>init.</i> - και	with \aleph 1, 178
<i>Ibid.</i> σαλπυγγων <i>pro</i> σαλπιστων	with \aleph <i>fam</i> 35, 90, 130 (<i>cf.</i> 146 <i>Hípp</i> σαλπυγκτων)
23. + φωνη <i>ante</i> νυμφης	with C 19, 126, <i>aeth syr</i> S
xix. 13. ρεραντισμενον	with P 36
xx. 3. εκλισευ (- αυτου)	with \aleph 104
8. + η παρα το χειλος (<i>ante</i> της θαλασσης)	} with 23
11. + του <i>ante</i> προσωπου	with \aleph AP 95-127, <i>syr</i> S <i>copt</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> + αυτου <i>post</i> προσωπου	with 56, 67, 95-127, 114, 120, 146, <i>syr</i> S <i>copt aeth</i>
xxi. 4. - ο <i>ante</i> θανατος	with \aleph 18, 22***, 23, 38, 47
18. χρυσίω καθαρώ <i>pro</i> χρυσιου καθαρον	} with <i>fam</i> 21, 114, 130, <i>copt</i>
19. καρχηδων <i>pro</i> χαλκηδων	with 35-68-132, 143, 146 <i>txt</i> <i>et com.</i> , <i>copt syr</i> S
21. + και <i>ante</i> εκαστος	with P 35-68-132, 56-108**, <i>syr</i> S <i>aeth latt</i>
xxii. 2 <i>init.</i> + και	with <i>gig arm aeth syr</i> S
5. <i>ετι pro</i> <i>εκει</i>	with \aleph AP <i>fam</i> 35, 56-108**, 65, 127, 143, 146 <i>txt, copt</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> και ουκ εξουσιν <i>χρειαν</i>	with A, 146, <i>latt syr</i> S
<i>Ibid.</i> <i>επ αυτους</i>	with \aleph A 18, <i>fam</i> 35, 127, <i>gig</i> <i>Prim Anon</i>
16. <i>εν pro</i> <i>επι</i>	with A 18, <i>fam</i> 21, 38-178, 56-108**, 127, <i>gig copt</i>
17. - και ο ακουων <i>ειπατω</i> <i>ελθε</i>	with 35, 90, <i>arm aeth Anon</i>

A careful study of the above will show endless combinations with all our most striking documents (besides the uncials), such as 18, 56, 130, 146, and the Patmos MS. 178, especially the Syriacisers or those with Græco-Syriac base, such as 40, with which we are alone no less than five times, and as many times with that interesting document 130.

All this does not seem to point to eclecticism, but to a base reaching even beyond all these. It is important to consider in this connection the syriac element underlying such MSS. as 18 and 40 with the agreements with the Patmos MS. 178 and with Gwynn's Syriac S for some possible Græco-Syriac common original base.

Next we must consider the new readings of our MS., and the list would be a fearsome one indeed but for the lesson conveyed above,

where from *Tertullian* and *Hippolytus* to *h, gigas, Primasius*, and Gwynn's *Syriac* we find such intense sympathy, so that, ruling out a few which may have come into the text later, the bulk of them must be relics of a text antedating all uncials and the important cursives 18, 36, 38, 40, 56, 95, 114, 130, 143, 146, 178.

Excluding spelling then, we have the following:—

UNIQUE SUBSTITUTIONS.

i. 1. αυτου *pro* ιησου χριστου

8. ο θεος *pro* ο κυριος (κυριος ο θεος, 146)

The verse, omitting λεγει, now runs thus: “εγω ειμι το α και το ω η αρχη και το τελος· ο θεος ο ων και ο ην και ο ερχομενος ο παντωκρατωρ.” Cf. *Tert Hipp*.

11. σαρδην *pro* σαρδεις

15. ως εκ καμεινου *pro* ως εν καμινω

16. κατέχων *pro* και εχων *init.* (Cf. 178 in x. 2)

19/20. μετα το μυστηριον· τους ξ αστερας ους ιδες επι της λυχνης (pro μετα ταυτα· το μυστηριον των επτα αστερων ων ειδες επι της δεξιας μου)

i. 20/ii. 1. *Conjungit ita*: εισιν των αγγελων των εν νεφесω· (— εκκλ.) γραφον λεγον· (pro εισι τω αγγελω της εφεσινης [vel εν εφεσω] εκκλησιας γραφον)

ii. 6. εχε καλ μησις *sic pro* εχεις οτι μισεις (Cf. *arm et Tert^{de prescr.}*)

13. μου *pro* εν αις (Obs. — εν αις AC 146 *copt syr S*)

14. ει *pro* οτι (Om. οτι C 130 *Prim*)

16. ως συ κρατεις *pro* ταχυ

17. το μαννα το κεκρυμμενον (Cf. 143; cf. *aeth vg latt [non Prim]*)

Ibid. το ονομα *pro* ονομα καινον (Cf. 59 *arm*)

22. αυτους *pro* αυτην

23. αυτων *pro* αυτης (Cf. *arm* 1/2)

ii. 24. ως λεγεται ουν *pro* ως λεγουσιν

27. ποιμανω *pro* ποιμανει

Ibid. ουτως *pro* ως *sec ante* καγω

iii. 2. στειριζων *pro* στηριζον (στηριζων *fam* 7)

4. εν σαρδαις *pro* εν σαρδεσιν

Ibid. οτι *pro* α

14. της εν τη λαοδικαιων εκκλησιας (Cf. *Tert de alt. eccl.*)

16. ελεγχω σε εκ του στοματος σου (pro μελλω σε εμεσαι εκ του στοματος μου) (Cf. *arm^{1,2,3} [invertentes]*. Cf. 38, 178,

156. Cf. *N*)

17. πεπτωκα *pro* πεπλουτηκα
 18. ἔνχρησαι *pro* ἐγχρισον (ἐγχρισται *aliq.* ἐνχρισται **N**)
 19. φηλήσω *pro* φιλήω
 21. δώσω αὐτον *pro* δώσω αὐτῷ
Ibid. εἰς τον θρονον μου *pro* ἐν τῷ θρονῷ μου
 iv. 3. ὡς ὁρασις *pro* ὁμοιος ὁρασει
 4. στεφανοι χρυσοι *pro* στεφανους χρυσους (Cf. *verss.*)
 5. ἔσται *pro* αἶ εἶσι (α ἐστιν **A**)
 9. ἐδωκαν *pro* δώσουσι (Cf. *verss.* : *aeth lat syr et Prim*)
Ibid. τῷ καθήμενῳ *sic*
 10. πεσόντες οὖν *sic pro* πεσοῦνται (Statim cadebant *Prim Fulg*)
Ibid. προσεκυνησαν *pro* προσκυνουσι
 11. ἐγενοντο *pro* εἰσι (Cf. *Anon Fulg*)
 v. 2. ἄλλον *pro* εἶδον (+ ἄλλον *fam 34, syr S*)
 3. ἀβυσσου *pro* γῆς *sec.* (Cf. *syr S alibi αβ. pro θαλασσης*)
 6. εἰσιν δε (*pro* οἱ εἰσι)
 9. ἡγείρας *pro* ἡγορησας (Obs. *ηγιασας 130*)
 13. ὃν *pro* ὁ ἐστιν *primo loco* (Cf. **N** το)
 vi. 1. λεγων *pro* λεγοντος
 11. στολην λευκην
 12. καὶ *pro* ὅτε (+ καὶ **P al. et Prim**)
 16. καλυψατε *pro* κρυψατε
 vii. 1. γενηται *pro* πνεη
 2. καὶ ἦν ἔχων *pro* ἐχοντα (Cf. *aeth*)
Ibid. ἀνεμοῖς *pro* ἀγγέλοις
 10. ἐκραξαν *pro* κραζοντες
 13. ἦλθαν *pro* ἦλθον
 14. ἐπὶ *pro* ἐν
 15. τοῦ θεοῦ *pro* αὐτοῦ (Cf. *Prim*)
 viii. 13. ἐμμεσῶ τόν οὐνόν *pro* ἐν μεσουρανηματι
Ibid. πολλῶν *pro* λοιπῶν (Om. *syr S*)
 ix. 1. κλείσις *pro* ἡ κλεις (Obs. *boh plural*)
 10. καὶ ἦσαν *sic pro* καὶ ἐχουσιν (Obs. *καὶ εἶχον 38-178, fam 119, verss.*)
Ibid. ἐξουσιαν ἐχουσαι τοῦ ἀδικησαι (– αὐτῶν)
 11. ἐχουσι δε *pro* καὶ ἐχουσι
 13. φωνῆς ἐνός *pro* φωνῆν μιαν (φωνῆς *μίας N^a, 56^{**}, 59, fam 119*)
 x. 1. ὥς εἰστοίλοι *pro* ὡς στύλοι
 2, 8, 9. βιβλαριον
 10. βυβλαριον

8. και φωνην ηκουσα παλιν εκ του ουνου (*pro* και η φωνη ην ηκουσα εκ του ουρανου παλιν) (Cf. 121, 127 *syr S*)
- xi. 5. κατεσθειη *pro* κατεσθιει (Cf. 146 *Hirr* βρεξη)
- Ibid.* στρέφαι *pro* στρέφειν
- Ibid.* ὥσάκισ ἂν θέλωσιν
9. βλεπωσιν
15. ἐλαλησεν *pro* ἐσαλπισεν
- xiii. 1. θηρα *pro* θηριον θηριαν 36 Cf. *verss.*
- Ibid.* αναβαινοντα *pro* αναβαινον
12. ἐπεποίει *pro* ποιει *prim* [ἐποίει *sec.*]
- xiv. 2. ως φωνη βροντης φωνης μεγαλης ην ηκουσα ως κιθαροδων καθαριζοντων (*pro* ως φωνην βροντης μεγαλης και φωνην ηκουσα κιθ. κιθ.)
4. ηκολουθησαν *pro* εισιν οι ακολουθουντες (Cf. *verss.*)
10. κεκραμμένου *pro* κεκερασμενου
16. εκαθαρισθη *pro* εθερισθη
- xv. 6. λινου *pro* λίνου (Cf. 36 ληνου)
- xvi. 3. ζώνω *pro* ζωσα (= *arm*^{2,4} *vid.*)
6. ἄρα ἄξιοι εἰσιν *pro* ἀξιοι γαρ εισι (*Obs.* + *οπερ* **Ν**; + *οτι* 16, 36, 39, 69, 102 *aeth Prim*)
8. τοις ανθρωποις *pro* τοις ανθρωπους (Cf. *Prim*: "ignem injicere hominibus")
- xvii. 2. οι κατοικουντες αυτήν (*sic*) εκ του οινου της πορνειας αυτης
3. βλάσφημα
7. Τὶ ὅτι *pro* διατι (Cf. *aeth*^{int} *quid miraris*; *copt* **Χε** εθβε)
- xviii. 3. πεπωκαν *pro* πεπωκε (σμυρναν *fam* 21)
13. σμύρνον *pro* μύρον
22. τέχνηωσ *pro* τεχνης
- Ibid.* ευρεθησεται *pro* ευρεθη
23. ως *pro* οι *sec. ante* μεγαστanes
- xix. 12. εχοντα *pro* εχων
13. αἷμα *pro* αιματι
21. εν τω ιππω *pro* επι του ιππου
- xx. 4/5. ἃ οἱ λοιποὶ *sic in it. lin. pro* οι δε λοιποι
6. μεταυτὰ *sic*
9. αγιαν *pro* ηγαπημενην ([= *aeth*³⁰¹]; cf. 100, 130, *copt syr S*; cf. *Anon* 1/3 *confl.* "sanctam dilectam")
10. τους ανθρωπους *pro* αυτους
11. μεγα λευκον (*pro* μεγαν λευκον *vel* λευκον μεγαν) (Cf. λευκον *μεγα* 38, 114)

12. και βιβλια ηνοιξαν· και αλλο βιβλιον ηνοιγει
 xxi. 4. δάκρυον
 17. πηχαίων *pro* πηχών (= 865 πηχεων)
 20. σαρδίουσ *sic pro* σάρδιος
Ibid. ὑάκυνθος
 24. φορεσωσιν (*sine acc.*) *pro* φερουσιν
 xxii. 17. και θελων ερχεσθω *pro* ελθετω και ο θελων
 (Cf. *arm gig syr S; cf. Anon*)
 21. μετα των αγιων σου *pro* μετα παντων υμων (Cf. *Prim*)

Now we reach the

UNIQUE OMISSIONS.

- i. 11. γραφον βιβλιον (– εις)
 19/20. μετα το μυστηριον· (– ταυτα) *pro* μετα ταυτα· το μυστηριον
 (Cf. *gloss. arab. in boh*)
 ii. 1. – εκκλησιας
 2. – οτι
 9. – συναγωγη
 17. – καινον
 23. – υμιν *pro* δωσω
 iii. 4. – εν λευκοις (Cf. *aeth* “Et amb. tecum pure” *tantum*)
 iv. 5. – καιομεναι ενωπιον του θρονου (– καιομεναι *cori*)
 v. 2. – ειδον
 6. κερατα και οφθαλμους ξ̄ (– επτα *prim*)
 8. – γεμουσας θυμιαματων
 9/10. – εν τω αιματι σου εκ πασης φυλης και γλωσσης και λαου
 και εθνους και εποιησας ημας τω θεω ημων (Cf. 130) †
 12. και πλουτον και δοξαν και ευλογιαν (– και σοφian και ισχυν
 και τιμην)
 13. – επι του θρονου
 13/14. – και το κρατος εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων· και τα τεσσαρα
 ζωα ελεγον αμην·
 vi. 15 *init.* – και
 vii. 3. – την γην μητε
 4. ρ̄κδ̄ *pro* ρ̄μδ̄
 12. – λεγοντες αμην
 viii. 8. – μεγα
 ix. 1. – εκ του ουρανου

† This probably indicates that in a very old copy this omission gave rise to the rapid and wrong transition, involving all the future copies.

14. - τω *ante* ποταμῳ
 xi. 18. - τον *ante* μισθον
 xii. 1. - στεφανος
 xiii. 3. - του θανατου *txt Suppl. marg***; cf. *ℵ*
 17. - η πωλησαι (Cf. *Anon*: "mercari")
 xiv. 15. φωνη μεγαλη (- εν)
 xv. 3. - δικαιοι
 7. - επτα *prim ante* αγγελοις
 xvii. 1. - και ελαλησε μετ εμου ([= *aeth*]; cf. *Cypr.*: "et aggressus est me" *pro* "et locutus est mecum")
 9. επτα ορη εισιν (- αι επτα κεφαλαι)
 11. - ο ην και ουκ εστι
 xviii. 8. - και πενθος και λιμος (- και πενθος 19 *solus*)
Ibid. - εν *ante* πυρι
 10. - λεγοντες
 14. - σου *prim*
 20. - και *prim ante* οι αγιοι
 xix. 11. - και αληθινος
 15. - του θεου
 21 *init.* - και
 xx. 6. - ο (*ante* εχων)
 xxi. 4. - ουτε κρανγη (*Obs. ord. ℵ*; *obs.* - ουτε πενθος *arm*^{2.4})
 16. - και το υψος αυτης (Cf. 92 *et sah*)
 xxii. 19. - ταυτης
 20/21 *jungens, om.* η χαρις του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου (Cf. *copt*)

The following are the

UNIQUE ADDITIONS.

- i. 12. + και θυσιαστηριον *post* χρυσας
 ii. 23. + ενι *ante* εκαστω (Cf. *aeth arm copt Vict Tun*)
 24. + τοις *ante* λοιποις
Ibid. + του θεου αλλα *inter* βαθη *et* του σατανα
 iii. 3. + και *init.*
 iv. 3. + ἡ *inter* λιθω *et* ιασπιδι
Ibid. + ην (*sine acc. vel spir.*) *ante* ἱερεισ *sic* (*pro* ἱρις) (Cf. 56 *post* ἱρις)
 5. + αυτου *post* θρονου *prim* + αυτων *Prim*; *contra* *syr S*
 των θρονων
 v. 13. αυτοις παντα · ηκουσα δε λεγοντας
 vi. 6. ως φωνης *pro* φωνην
 vii. 9. + πολλων *ante* εστωτες

- 11/12. *Post* θεω 11 *fin.* + ημων τω καθημενω επι τω θρονω και τω
αρνω (*errore*)
- ix. 5. + εξουσιαν *ante* ινα μη (*Cf. arm aeth + mandatum*)
- x. 10. + αυτου *inter* χειρος *et* του αγγελου (*Cf. aeth*)
- xi. 1. + καλα (*absque acc.*) *ante* τον ναον
- xiii. 6. + και *ante* προς του θεου
17. + επι του μετοπου αυτου (*post* ο το χαραγμα εχων *invert.*)
- xiv. 3. + ενωπιον του θεου και *ante* ενωπιον του θρονου
4. + παντων *ante* των *ανων* (*Cf. lux. "ex omnibus"*)
7. + τω θεω *ante* τω ποιησαντι (*Cf. gig + Deum; cf. arm²*)
14. + και *post* ανθρωπου
- xv. 3. *Post* την ωδην + του θυ ανειληφότωσ. διαψιλαφούντος
4. [όσιος] + και δίκαιος (= *h prob. et arm*)
7. + τοις *post* αγγελοις
- Ibid.* + ξ *post* χρυσας
8. + του θεου *post* ναον
- xvi. 18. + επι της γης *inter* εγενετο (*sic*) *et* μεγας
- xvii. 1. + ταυτης *post* πορνης (= *aeth*)
13. και δυναμιν και εξουσιαν (- την *bis*) *sed* + και την εξουσιαν
postea.
17. + βουλην *post* εδωκεν
- xviii. 3. + εστηνιασαν και *ante* επλουτησαν (= *arm*)
4. + μεγαλην *post* φωνην
6. + το *ante* διπλουν
14. + και απωλοντο *post* απο σου *sec.*
- xix. 7. + η δοξα και *ante* ο γαμος
10. + γαρ *inter* σου *et* ειμι
- Ibid.* ω + χυ *pro* του ιησου *sec.*
- xx. 4. ω + χυ
- Ibid.* + αυτων *post* χριστου
14. + την καιομενην *post* λιμνην
- xxi. 2. + ητοιμασμενην *post* κεκοσμημενην [*Habet etiam antea, ante*
ως νυμφην] (*Cf. Auct de prom et Iren 1/2*)
12. [και επι τοις πυλωσιν] + εχουσα [αγγελους] ιβ
21. + ην (*sic*) *ante* χρυσιον καθαρον
- xxii. 8. [και οτε ηκουσα και] εβλεπων + και ηκουων ταυτα

And here are the

TRANSPOSITIONS.

- iv. 1. μετ εμου λαλουσα *pro* λαλουσης μετ εμου
- ix. 18. εκ του καπνου και του πυρος και του θιου

- xiii. 17. ο το χαραγμα εχων
 18. η σοφια ωδε εστιν (Cf. *boh*)
 xvi. 17. απο του θρονου εκ του ναου (- του ουρανου) λεγουσα
 xix. 8. και λαμπρον καθαρον

These very few unique *transpositions* indicate no careless copying, for careless copying *always* involves many transpositions.

It will be noticed that *additions* and *omissions* nearly balance one another.

The striking ones will easily meet the eye.

The substitutions can be weighed carefully as to their historical connection.

It is unnecessary to add a word more. But it is worth while to have waded through so much material to reach this long-lost witness.

H. C. HOSKIER.

(*To be continued.*)

[After surveying 201, 202, we shall take up such MSS. as 18, 36, 38-178, 40, 56, 130, 143, 146, 170, and the agreement of these with 200 should be already noted.]

P.S.—Let the reader observe that we have recovered practically the full text of the uncial MS. E in the cursives 67-120, and that of F in the cursives 38-178, so that wherever these cursives are involved they carry with them E and F respectively.

As regards the above lists, note that 104 belongs to the large Græco-Latin family 7.

130 and 170 belong to the large family 21-28, etc., which comprises a composite Syriac and Egyptian base.

Family 34 is Coptic.

146 is the Æcumenian MS. from Messina.

APOLLO AND THE APPLE.

BY BASIL F. C. ATKINSON, B.A.,
OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SCHRADER (*Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 276) gives it as his opinion that the name of the apple, which appears in the northern European languages, derives from Abella, the name of the town in Campania noted for its apple orchards (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740). The occurrences of the stem are as follows: Celtic, O. Ir. abhal, abhal, Welsh afal; Teutonic, O.H.G. aphul, N.H.G. apfel, O.N. eple, A.S. äppel, M.E. äppel, apple; Balto-Slav, Lith. óbūlas, O. Prus. wobalne, woble, O. Slav. jablūko. Upon these Schrader has the rather significant remark, "I do not disguise from myself that phonetically the regularity with which I. *b*, Dutch *p*, H.G. *pf*, Lith. *b*, correspond to each other, is disturbing in the case of a set of loan-words." In his *Reallexikon* (under *Apfelbaum*) Schrader adheres to his opinion, but modifies it still further by the remark, "Möglich ist endlich aber auch, Abella als unverwandt mit den nordeuropäischen Ausdrücken anzusehen und den Ort von der Frucht, nicht die Frucht von dem Ort benannt sein zu lassen." What Schrader allows as a possibility Dr. Rendel Harris considers the true view. He suggests that there was an I.-E. stem *abela-, *ablu- of this meaning, and that this was borrowed by the Greeks as the name of the god Apollo (Thess. Ἄπλου; Cret., Corinth., Lac., Pamphyl. Ἀπέλλων; elsewhere Ἀπόλλων, which last form Buck (*Gk. Dialects*, § 49, 3) suggests may be due to assimilation). It is impossible to accept Dr. Harris' explanation of the voiceless stop in the Greek name, which is that it was borrowed from a Teutonic dialect, for this anticipates the first Germanic sound-changes by 900 years. Is it possible that the stem was borrowed from the Illyrians?

If Dr. Harris' view of the connection of the god with the fruit be correct—and there appears reason for believing so upon archæological, as opposed to linguistic, grounds (see Mr. A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, Vol. II, p.

487 ff., shortly to be published, to the proof-sheets of which the author has very kindly given me access)—the form which the loan-word, if it be such, takes in the Greek language may perhaps be accounted for in the following way. It has long been recognised that in many cases (though not invariably) words borrowed or transliterated from Greek into Latin or vice versa exchange a voiced for a voiceless, and a voiceless for a voiced, stop. The cause of this change is recognised as lying in the fact that whereas in Greek the voiced stops (β , δ , γ) were *fortes* or *mediae*, and the voiceless (π , τ , κ) were *lenes*, the reverse was true in Latin, where the voiceless stops (p , t , c) were *fortes* and the voiced (b , d , g) *lenes*. The subject is treated fully by Th. Claussen in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. XV, 833 ff., where he furnishes numerous examples of Greek loan-words in Latin and makes the following remark: "Dies wird sich kaum anders erklären lassen, als dass β , γ , δ unter Umständen einen Klang gehabt haben müssen, der die Römer mehr an ihre eigenen tonlosen als an ihre stimmhaften Verschlusslaute erinnerte, weshalb die ersteren eingesetzt wurden." Meyer-Lübke (*Gram.* I, § 17, p. 33) states: "Das griechische k vor a , o , u wird durch lat. g wiedergegeben: das g dürfte hier die reine Tenuis ausdrücken im Gegensatz zum lat. c , das leicht aspiriert war. . . Ebenso π ." Lindsay (*Hist. of the Lat. Lang.* II, § 73) is perhaps less dogmatic, and points out that an interchange took place within Greek itself (e.g. Ἀμβρακιώτης and Ἀμπρακιώτης). Seelman (*Aussprache d. Latein.*, p. 346) observes: "Es ist interessant zu beobachten, dass K grade in griechischen Lehnwörter ziemlich regelrecht durch G ersetzt ist." The subject is also treated by Weise (p. 84), Stolz (§ 263), Stolz-Schmalz (§ 49), Diez (*Gr.* p. 227), Meyer-Lübke (*Einf.*, p. 96), Saalfeld (*Lautgesetze d. griech. Lehnwörtern*, 27 ff.). For examples of Greek transliterations of Latin words see Sturtevant, *Pronun. of Gk. and Lat.*, pp. 99, 100.

If this is the case with the interchange of words between Greek and Latin, may we not suppose that it might have been the case between Greek and Illyrian? The scanty remnants that we possess of the Illyrian tongue provide one or two reasons for thinking that the Illyrian pronunciation of the voiced and voiceless stops more closely resembled the Latin than the Greek. The name of the Illyrian town that Livy (xliv. 23, 32) gives as *Medeon* is written by Polybius (xxix. 2) Μερέων . The Illyrian name Ἀὐδωλέων , which occurs upon coins

(*Head, Hist. num.*² p. 237), and in inscriptions (CIA. ii. 312, 313), with δ, is written by Plutarch and Polyaeus as Ἀντολέων. We may perhaps compare the Italian *Calabri* with Strabo's Γαλάβριοι, an Illyrian name (vii. 316); if not also Venetic *Kanta* with Gk. Κανδαονία; *Matsiu* (CIL. iii. 3602) with Μαζαῖοι (Strabo vii. 314). Further if Pauli's interpretation of the Venetic inscriptions be correct, and the word *zonasto* be a past tense of the root *da-*, *do-*, the Illyrian *d* had at an early date become a spirant (I use the word "Illyrian" in connection with Venetia in view of Hdt. i. 196). This shows it to have been pronounced without force. There are signs that this development had taken place in southern Illyria by Appian's time at any rate, for his use of θ in the name Δαορθώ (Illyr. 2) is reasonably supposed to be his attempt to render the sound that occurs in the name of the tribe Δαόριζοι.

It is then conceivable and not wholly impossible that the Greek name of the god Apollo may be the Greek pronunciation and transliteration of a borrowed Illyrian stem *abel-, *abl-. The stem is not yet known to have occurred in Illyrian, though it does occur in Celtic, and the influence of Celts upon Illyrians, especially down the low-lying strip of Adriatic coast through which Apollo seems to have reached Greece, was generally recognised in antiquity. The form *Ἀπλουν, which occurs in Thessaly, nearest to the Illyrian border, may have been the original form in which the stem was borrowed, or the various ablaut-grades may represent different borrowings by different Greek tribes. This suggestion is as yet far from resting upon definite proof and there is much that might be urged against it. It does however seem possible after comparison with the sound-changes undergone with comparative regularity by the loan-words that here lies an explanation of the form of the god's name.

In conclusion I have to thank Mr. A. B. Cook, author of *Zeus*, and Dr. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, for their very kind help, criticism and encouragement.

SCIPIO SQUIRE.

BY FRANCES ROUXE-TROUP.

MR. FAWTIER asks for further information concerning Scipio Squire at the end of his note on the antiquary on p. 191 (Vol. 6) of the BULLETIN of the John Rylands Library, so I venture to forward a few notes I have collected.

His father Edmund Squire was a clergyman, the Rector of King's Nympton, Devonshire. There is a will, in the Consistorial Court at Exeter of Henry Tucker of that parish, husbandman, dated 3 June, 37 Elizabeth [1595], of which an abstract is given in Charles Worthy's *Devonshire Wills*, p. 109, which is witnessed by

Edmunde Squer, Pastor of King's Nympton and Scipio Squier his sonne the writers hereof.

This would have been when the Antiquary was about fifteen years old.

In a long note Mr. Worthy traces the Squire family to a certain Roger Le Squier who obtained Little Fulford, which lies partly in Crediton and partly in Shobrooke, in the time of Edward II. He then quotes a pedigree of Squier of Heanton Punchardon from the *Visitation of Devon*, 1564, from which he shows that Agnes, daughter and heir of William Squier and granddaughter of Thomas, the first mentioned in the pedigree, married William Marwood and her daughter and heir Joane was the mother of the famous Sir Lewis Pollard, a Judge of the Common Pleas, born about 1465, and points out that the Pollards were patrons of King's Nympton, so that there was probably a connexion between Edmund Squier and the Heanton Punchardon family.

It has been accepted on the authority of Westcote that Sir Lewis Pollard's mother was the daughter of one Lewknor of Sussex, and no modern pedigree of Pollard or Marwood confirms the above quotation from the 1564 Visitation.

Tracing the Slader family, to which Scipio's mother belonged, we find in Vivian's *Visitations of the County of Devon*, p. 686, that

Martha third daughter of Marke Slader of Bath, and Catherine Wood, was married 17th June, 1576, at North Tawton to Edmund SYNGER—an obvious misreading of SQUYER—the reference being to the registers of that parish.

Concerning Scipio himself there is a note made in one of his heraldic MSS. which belonged to the Rev. Jeremiah Milles, the antiquary and Dean of Exeter [1762-84], and which is now British Museum, Additional MS. 14,262,¹ which gives a little more information. The note is in the Dean's handwriting and reads as follows :—

Mr. Scipio Squier, the collector of the arms in this book, was one of the Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer in ye year 1656. He was descended from Henry Squier, of Handsworth, Stafford, whose daughter Joan was married to William Harman, ye father of John Harman, alias Voysey, formerly Bishop of Exeter. This Scipio Squier was a gentleman of great knowledge in antiquity, and a singular friend of Sir William Dugdale, who gives this account and character of him, and owns that he was a special furtherer of his *History of Warwickshire*. See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, under the title *Sutton Coseild*,² p. 667 of ye edition printed in 1656.

Worthy adds the further information that his father, Edmund Squier, died in 1620, and that Sir Elias Ashmole notes in his diary under 24th May, 1659, that he made the acquaintance of Scipio Squier. He also says that Scipio visited Exeter in 1607 recording heraldic matters connected with the Guildhall and Polsloe Priory—probably this was found in Dean Milles' MS.

¹ See *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, XXIII., p. 165.

² Coldfield.

HAND-LIST OF THE MAINWARING MANUSCRIPTS.

BY ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ÈS LETTRES, ASSISTANT-KEEPER
OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

1. CHARTERS.¹

ALCOCK (Family)

No. 361. Marriage settlement of Humphrey Alcock and Elen Walton, daughter of Thomas and Katherine Walton. (1558).

ALDERLEY. See *Warford (Great)*. 409.

ALDERSEY. See *Stoke*. 192.

ALDFORD. See *Stoke*. 192.

ALKINGTON (co. Salop). See *Doddington*. 475.

ALLOSTOCK

No. 106. Grant [and copy] by John Umbulcounte to Richard, son of William Smith [*Faber*], and Margery, the said Richard's daughter. [*temp.* Ed. II. before 1270].

No. 286. Records of an enquiry made at the King's Court of Avowry at Knutsford concerning Ralph Hulse's property. (1456.)

No. 287. Grant by Richard Hulse to Roger Feton, chaplain. (1463.)

No. 288. Grant by the same to Elizabeth Cochet. (1463.)

No. 289. Quitclaim by Roger Feton to Richard Hulse. (1471.)

No. 293. Bond in £40 from Thomas Henrison, William Kynse and Ralph Baskervyle to Thomas Hulse for the release of all claims the said Thomas Henrison may have to the lands which Thomas Hulse inherited from his father Richard. (1480.)

See also *Hulme*. 469, 470.

ALSTANTON

No. 211. Grant by John Savage, knt., to Ralph Mainwaring of the custody of the lands of the late John Bromley in Alstanton, Coppenhall, Wolstanswood, Burland, Faddiley and Badington. (1419.)

ASTLE-IN-CHELFORD

No. 7. Grant by William de Astle to the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. (Late xiith cent.)

¹ The place-names without indication of county are Cheshire. Those with a query (?) I have not been able to identify. They are very likely Cheshire.

- No. 63. Lease by Adam de Astle to John, his father, of 39 silions of land in Astle and Capesthorn. (1274.)
- No. 78. Grant by Robert, son of Adam de Astle, to Roger de Goostrey. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
- No. 174. Grant by Richard, son of Thomas del Clogh, to Elena, his sister. (1395.)
- No. 185. Grant by the same to John of Snelson. (1400.)
- No. 186. Grant by the same to the same of the reversion of all his lands on the death of the grantor. (1400.)
- No. 187. Grant by John del Lowe of Macclesfield and Elena, his wife, to John of Snelson. (1400.)
- No. 232. Grant by Thomas de Snelson of Over Peover to William Mainwaring, Henry Johnson, John Dirkin and Henry Willeboy, of the lands which he had from Richard del Clogh. (1431.)
- No. 234. Grant by William Mainwaring, Henry Johnson, John Dirkin and Henry Willeboy, to Thomas de Astle, chaplain, Hugh de Astle, Ralph de Lee, Nicholas and William de Mere, Richard de Smalley and Thomas le Ward, of the lands they had from Thomas de Snelson. (1432.)
- No. 235. Power of attorney to Hugh Buren to take seisin of the said lands. (1432.)
- See also *Chelford*. 54.

ASTON-JUXTA-BUDWORTH

- No. 239. Grant by feoffees to Piers Warburton, knt., of the Manor of A. on occasion of his marriage with Elizabeth Mainwaring. (1436.)
- No. 351. Lease of the feoffees of Sir Randolph Mainwaring to Dame Eleanor, widow of Sir William Brereton. (1546.)
- See also *Peover*. 275.

AUBIGNY (Calvados, France). See *Dernhall*. 11.

BADDILEY

- No. 87. Grant by Robert de Praers to Adam, his son. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
- No. 133. Fine levied at Chester whereby Henry de Shamynnton conveys to William de Praers the manor of B. and land in Brindley. (1355.)
- No. 146. Grant by William Mainwaring, jun., to William de Motte-low, Hugh del Holt, and others of tenements in Baddiley, Faddiley, Burland and Brindley. (1362.)
- No. 155. Powers of attorney from William Mainwaring to Richard Le Baskervyle to deliver seisin to Robert de Rowley and Roger de Davenport of messuages in the same places. (1372.)
- No. 181. Grant by John de Honford to John, son of William Mainwaring, of a rent of £40 from lands in Baddiley, Eaton, Lawton, Hulme-Wallefeld, Haukesley, Faddiley, Stoneley, Brindley and Stoke. (1400.)

- No. 182-183. Grant [and copy] by Robert de Rouley, parson, and Hugh de Haucusherd, chaplain, to John, son of William Mainwaring, of lands in Baddiley, Eaton, Lawton, Haukesley, Faddiley, Stoneley, Swonley, Burland, Brindley, Stoke, Upton, Poulton in Wirral and Chester. (1400.)
- No. 357. Fine levied at Chester whereby Ranulph Mainwaring, knt., and others convey the manor of B. to Rowland Stanley, knt., and Thomas William, Esq. (1556.)
- No. 397. Fine from Ranulph Mainwaring, sen., Esq., Ranulph Mainwaring, jun., Gent., and Jane, his wife, to Sir George Leycester. (1600.)
- No. 402. Fine from Sir Randle Mainwaring and others, to Geoffrey Shakerley and others, in Baddiley, Faddiley and Nantwich. (1603.)
- See also *Peover*. 275, 335, 336, 386, 387, 437; *Withington*. 297.

BADINGTON. See *Alstanton*. 211.

BANBURY (co. Oxford)

- No. 176. Quitclaim by Robert Le Grosvenor, knt., John de Leycester and Ranulph Mainwaring, to John Mainwaring, of messuages in Banbury and Bodicote in the County of Oxford and Upton in the County of Warwick. (1395.)
- See also *Rotteley*. 207.

BARNSHAW CUM GOOSTREY

- No. 18. Quitclaim by Roesia, the widow of Thomas de Aston, to her lord Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, of all her rights within the new ditch. (1249-1265.)
- No. 20. Grant by Roger de Barnshaw to Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, of lands, in exchange for which the Abbey grants to Roger some lands in Goostrey. (1249-1265.)
- No. 21. Grant by Roesia, the widow of Gilbert de Moresbarewe, to her lord Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, of licence to make a pool and fish pond. (1252-1258.)
- No. 38. Grant by Lydulfus and Gilbert de Twemlowe to Roger, son of Roger Palmer of Goostrey. (*temp.* H. III.)
- No. 71. Grant by Richard de Bonnetable to Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, of the pool. (1249-1265.)
- No. 344. Lease by the Dean and Chapter of Chester to Randolph Mainwaring, of the Manor. (1542.)
- No. 410. Extracts of the Court rolls in Barnshaw and Goostrey. (1616-1617.)
- No. 425. Fine from Henry Mainwaring to Peter Venables, Peter and George Mainwaring and others. (1638.)
- See also *Goostrey*.

BAROW. KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS. See *Astle*. 7.

BARTON. See *Stoke*. 192.

BEAUMARIS (Anglesey)

Admission of Sir Randle Mainwaring as a burgess. (1604.)

BLACKDEN. See *Goostrey*. 221, 224.

BLACKENHALL. See *Weston*. 229.

BLACKETT OF NEWBY (Family)

No. 483. Will of Sir William Blackett of Newby, co. York. (1718.)

BODICOTE (co. Oxford). See *Banbury*. 176.

BRINDLEY

No. 329. Counterpart of lease from Dame Katherine, widow of Sir John Mainwaring, to James Huxley. (1519.)

See also *Baddiley*. 133, 146, 155, 181, 182.

BURLAND

No. 95. Fine levied at Chester whereby William, son of Robert de Praers, conveys to Robert, son of William de Praers, various mesuages and lands. (1317.)

No. 337. Lease from Randolph Mainwaring of Peover to Randolph his son of Swanley Hall. (1530.)

See also *Alstanton*. 211; *Baddiley*. 146, 155, 182.

BURWARDSLEY. See *Stoke*. 192.

CAPESTHORN. See *Astle*. 63.

CARDEN. See *Stoke*. 192.

CEPMUNDWICH-IN-OVER-PEOVER.

No. 36. Grant by William, son of Ralph de Goostrey, to Richard, his son. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 39. Grant by Margery, widow of Hugh de Stoke to Thomas, son of Gregory de Hesselinton, and Agnes his daughter. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 45. Grant by William Inkel to Reginald de Brun. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 57. Grant by William, son of William Inkel, to William, son of Ralph de Goostrey. (*temp.* H. III.-Ed. I.)

No. 81. Grant by William, son of Gilbert Inkel, to William, son of Ralph de Goostrey. (*temp.* Ed. I.)

No. 82. Grant by the same to the same. (*temp.* Ed. I.)

No. 100. Grant by Laurence, rector of Swettenham, to Adam, son of Richard Hyrne and Joan, daughter of Sir William de Glasebrook and the said Adam's wife, of land in Cepmundwich and Hethalys. (1327.)

Nos. 118-119. Grant (and counterpart) by Geoffrey de Craunache, chaplain, to Adam Hyrne and Roesia his wife. (1327.)

No. 151. Grant by William Fraysel, chaplain, to Henry Hyrne and John his son. (1368.)

- No. 164. Grant by Alicia, widow of Richard de Chorley, to Robert de Are, chaplain, of lands and houses. (1388.)
- No. 165. Power of attorney to John, son of Thomas de Snelson, to deliver seisin of the above. (1388.)
- No. 236. Quitclaim by Richard de Whistanfeld to Ranulph, son of William Mainwaring. (1432.)

CESTERFORD [Chesterford, Co. Essex?].

- No. 25. Grant by Henry de Alstanton to Milicent, his daughter. (*temp.* H. III.)

CHEADLE.

- No. 225. Fine levied at Chester, whereby Thomas, son of John de Croxton and Joyce, his wife, convey to John del Hett, chaplain, lands in Cheadle and Siddington. (1425.)
- No. 237. Fine levied at Chester, whereby the same convey to the same, lands in the same places. (1434.)

CHELFORD.

- No. 10. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of Robert de Barnshaw, to John de Astle. (early XIIIth cent.)
- No. 41. Grant by William, Lord of Astle, to Robert de Barnshaw. (*temp.* H. III.)
- No. 54. Grant by William, son of Robert Pigot, to Simon the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh of the whole vill of Chelford with the mill, lordship and rents of Astle. (1272.)
- No. 59. William, Lord of Snelson, and Ralph de Mobburley settle the boundaries of the lands in Chelford and Snelson, concerning which there has been a contention between themselves and Simon the abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1272-1275.)
- See also *Dittington*, 193; *Withington*, 347.

CHESTER (County).

- No. 162. Grant by Margery, widow of William Le Braban of Knutsford, to Oliver, their son, of all her goods, etc., in the county. (1384.)
- No. 179. Power of attorney from Robert Slegt, knt., and Agnes, his wife, to Ralph de Wettenhall, to sell all his lands in the county. (1398.)
- No. 294. Grant by Thomas, son of Thomas de Wettenhall, to Robert Fouleshurst, rector of Barthomley, John Mainwaring, rector of Warmincham, and John Brook, chaplain, of all his lands in the county. (1489.)
- No. 316. Grant by Thomas Sneleston to William Moldeworth and others, of all his lands in the counties of Chester and Lancaster. (1504.)
- No. 339. Enfeoffment to the hands of trustees by Sir Randulph Mainwaring of his estates in the county. (1535.)

- No. 405. Commission appointing Sir Randle Mainwaring as sheriff. (1604.)
- No. 412-413. Commissions appointing Sir Randle Mainwaring as sheriff. (1618.)
- No. 414-415. Acquittances to the said in respect of his accompt as sheriff. (1619.)
- No. 421. Letters patent appointing Commissioners for the levy of a subsidy. (1628.)
- No. 422. Appointment of Sir Randle Mainwaring to be Deputy Lieutenant. (1627.)
- No. 423. Acquittances to the same in respect of his accompt as sheriff. (1631.)
- No. 428. Warrant to Philip Mainwaring for the delivery to Sir Thomas Powell, now appointed sheriff, of all records, etc., pertaining to the office. (1639.)
- No. 429. Commission appointing Philip Mainwaring as sheriff. (1638.)
- No. 430. Acquittances to the same in respect of his accompt as sheriff. (1639.)
- No. 442. Letters patent of Oliver Cromwell appointing Thomas Mainwaring sheriff. (1656.)
- No. 444. Grant by Thomas Mainwaring to Humphrey Milton, of the office of under sheriff. (1656.)
- No. 446. Letters patent of Oliver Cromwell to Thomas Mainwaring to deliver up the county to John Leigh, the in-coming sheriff. (1657.)
- No. 447. Acquittances to Thomas Mainwaring in respect of his accompt as sheriff. (1657.)
- No. 449-454. Six blank commissions from Charles II. for levy of soldiers. (1659.)
- No. 467. Appointment of Thomas Wettenhall to be a Commissioner to take oaths. (1677.)
- No. 476. Presentment of the Jury against John Morris of Christleton, blacksmith, for perjury. (1683.)
- See also *Nantwich*. 219.

CHESTER.

- No. 350. Grant by John Walley, mayor of Chester, to John Offeley. (1546.)
- No. 462. Commission to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Sir Peter Pinder, Sir Philip Egerton and Sir John Arden to be guardians of the peace. (1672.)
- No. 463. Warrant to Sir Richard Brook and others to take the oath from the above guardians. (1672.)
- See also *Baddiley*. 181; *Eaton*. 277; *Peover*. 275.

CHESTER. ABBEY OF ST. WERBURGH. See *Barnshaw*. 18, 20, 21, 71; *Chelford*. 54, 59; *Goostrey*. 13, 19, 46, 51, 64, 65, 70, 77, 79, 116; *Hoole*. 48, 50, 68; *Leigh*. 15, 17, 60; *Plumley*. 53, 55, 61, 62; *Tabley*. 4.

CHESTER. CHAPTER. See *Barnshaw*. 344.

CHRISTLETON.

No. 259. Lease by John, son of Ralph de Wettenhall, to Elena, the latter's wife. (1440.)

See also *Nantwich*. 208, 222, 223, 230, 251, 252, 278, 279, 280.

CHURTON. See *Stoke*. 192.

CLIVE.

No. 178. Grant by Hugh, son of Richard de Clive, to Ralph de Weaver of a rent from lands in Clive and Wharton. (1398.)

No. 394. Fine from Sir George Mainwaring to Edward and John Minshull of lands in Clive and Waverton. (1597.)

No. 395. Extracts from the pleas at Chester Sessions relating to the above fine. (1597.)

CLOTTON. See *Stoke*. 192.

CLUTTON OF NANTWICH (Family).

No. 427. Will of Richard Clutton. (1635.)

No. 465-466. Will [and copy] of Richard Clutton. (1671.)

CODDINGTON. See *Stoke*. 192.

COGHALL.

No. 85. Grant by Thomas Mainwaring, to Hamon, son of John de Bruyeres. (*temp.* Ed. I.)

COOLE. See *Nantwich*. 168, 169, 175, 177, 189, 190, 194, 208, 222, 223, 230, 251, 252, 278, 279, 280.

COPPENHALL.

No. 371. Sale by Richard Church to Richard Wright. (1575.)

No. 377-378. Sale by Robert Barker to Richard Wright. (1570.)

No. 380. Sale by Edward Leigh to Richard Wright. (1574.)

No. 382. Quitclaim by Richard Church and Henry Lowe to Richard Wright. (1575.)

See also *Alstanton*. 211; *Nantwich*. 251, 252.

COURLAND (?)

No. 73. Grant by Elena, daughter of William Wodenoth, to William de Praers. (1300.)

CUDDINGTON. See *Stoke*. 192.

DAVENHAM.

No. 354. Lease by Raufe Walton to Edward Pickmere. (1551.)

See also *Nantwich*. 142.

DERNHALL.

No. 11. Grant by Ralph Blundeville, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, to Robert, son of Salomon, of 20 shillings of annual rent on the mill of Dernhall together with the acquittances of the Hundred of Edisbury and the "patura" of his servants to the said Robert and his men living on his land of Tiverton. The said earl also grants to the same: Withington, 20s. rent from Macclesfield, land in Goulsby and Lindsey; Robert quitclaiming the Earl all the land which his father held from the Earl in Normandy, namely in Tessa and Aubigny. (copy *temp.* Ed. III.)

No. 338. Covenant for the settlement of disputes between John the Abbot and the Abbey of Vale Royal and Randolph Mainwaring, respecting Dernhall and Withington. (1533.)

See also *Eaton*. 277; *Nantwich*. 209, 213, 214.

DIEULACRES ABBEY (Co. Staff.). See *Peover*. 12.

DITTINGTON (?)

No. 193. Fine levied at Chester whereby William de Honkylowe and Elizabeth, his wife, convey to John Mainwaring lands in Dittington and Chelford. (1405.)

DODDINGTON.

No. 475. Fine from Robert Allport to Thomas Delves in Doddington, Tilstock, Alkington. (1681.)

DUKENFIELD. See *Withington*. 205.

EATON.

No. 277. Lease by Ranulph, son of William Mainwaring, to Elena, wife of William, son of John Mainwaring, knt., of lands in Eaton, Lawton, Upton, Poulton in Wirrall, Chester and Dernhall. (1444.)

No. 284. Lease by William, son of John Mainwaring to William, son of Hugh Moreton. (1453.)

No. 376. Fine from Philip Mainwaring to Ranulph, his son and Margaret, his wife, of lands in Eaton, Poulton in Wirrall, Edgeley, Stoke, Plumley, Withington, Knutsford and Nantwich. (1569.)

See also *Baddiley*. 181, 182.

EDGELEY. See *Eaton*. 376.

EDISBURY (Hundred). See *Dernhall*. 11.

FADDILEY.

No. 265. Fine from John Fynch and Isabella his wife, to Ralph Mainwaring and Margery his wife. (1441.)

See also *Alstanton*. 211; *Baddiley*. 146, 155, 181, 182, 402.

FARNDON. See *Stoke*. 192.

FARNWORTH (Co. Lanc.). See *Shakerley*. 471, 472.

FLINT (County).

No. 134. Grant by John, son of Jordan de Macclesfield, to William Mainwaring, of a rent from all his lands in the county. (1356.)

- No. 135. Power of attorney to Peter de Neuton to receive seisin of the above rent. (1356.)
- No. 318. Extract from the Acompt Roll of John Mainwaring, sheriff. (1507-1508.)
- No. 319. Petition to the King that he will grant his letters patent appointing John Mainwaring to be sheriff. (*circ.* 1510-1511.)
- No. 320. Appointment of Richard ap Hoell to be deputy-sheriff. (1510.)
- No. 324. Appointment of Piers Stanley, jun., to be deputy sheriff. (1514.)
- No. 431-432. Indentures of the elections of John Mostyn and John Salisbury M.P. for the county. (1640.)

FLINT (Co. Flint).

- No. 459. Report of Ralph Whitley and Robert Evans on encroachments by tenants. (1668.)

FODON-IN-PEOVER.

- No. 31. Grant by Thomas Mainwaring to William Mainwaring. (*temp.* H. III.)

FOULESHURST.

- No. 285. Quitclaim by William Shayton to John Waren, William, son of John Mainwaring, and Ranulph Mainwaring, of the manor of F. and land in F., Sound and Worleston. (1454.)

See also *Peover*. 275.

GATFORD (?) See *Nantwich*. 213, 214; *Withington*. 163, 205, 215.

GLASGOW (Scotland).

- No. 488. Admission of Sir Henry Mainwaring of Peover as burgess and guild brother. (1752.)

GODWINSLEY. See *Weston*. 229.

GOOSTREY-CUM-BARNSHAW.

- No. 13. Quitclaim by Warin de Croxton, son of Richard de Croxton, to Walter the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, of the moiety of G. (1233-1240.)
- No. 19. Quitclaim by Roesia, the widow of Gilbert de Moresbarewe, to her lord Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh of her part in the mill of Goostrey, rent 5s. and 6d. for the fishpond of Barnshaw. (1249-1265.)
- No. 46. Grant by Henry, son of Richard Bonnetable and Felicia, his wife, to Simon the Abbot, and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1265-1289.)
- No. 51. Covenant between Thomas, son of Michael, and Simon the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1271.)
- No. 64. Grant by Richard Bonnetable to the same Abbot and Abbey in Goostrey and Barnshaw. (1277.)

- No. 65. A mandate by the said Richard to Roger de Barnshaw to make his homage and service for the future to the Abbey. (1277.)
- No. 70. Composition between the Abbey of St. Werburgh and Thomas, son of Michael. (1287.)
- No. 77. Quitclaim by Felicia, the widow of Henry, son of Richard Bonnetable, to Thomas the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1306.)
- No. 79. Quitclaim by Roger de Barnshaw to the same Abbot and Abbey. (1291-1323.)
- No. 116. Settlement between the Abbey of St. Werburgh and Thomas, son of Robert de Barnshaw. (1335.)
- No. 221. Fine from Ralph de Rowley and Margaret his wife to Ranulph Mainwaring, of lands in G. and Blackden.
- No. 224. Grant by Ranulph, son of William Mainwaring, to Hugh Brian, in the same places. (1425.)
- No. 266. Grant by Thomas Kyney to Margaret, widow of Ralph de Rowley. (1442.)
- No. 267. Grant by Ranulph Mainwaring to Thomas Kyney of a parcel of land in exchange for a messuage in Knutsford. (1442.)
- No. 385. "A laye made for the priestes wages of Gostree by Mr. Henry Mainwaring and the rest of the parish." (1578.)
- See also *Barnshaw*

GOULSBY (Co. Linc.). See *Dernhall*. 11.

GULDEN SUTTON. See *Warford (Great)*. 130.

HANDLEY. See *Stoke*. 192.

HATHERTON. See *Walgherton*. 204; *Weston*. 229.

HAUKESLEY (?). See *Baddiley*. 181, 182, 183.

HELEY (Co. Staff.).

- No. 323. Grant by John, Lord Audley, to John Mainwaring of the office of Constable of the Castle. (1512.)

HENHULL.

- No. 141. Grant by David, son of Cardugan de Crutton, to Thomas, son of John de Wettenhall, of the homage and service of Ralph de Becheton, rector of Woodchurch, and of William de Blackden, and 4s. rent from a land in Henhull. (1361.)
- No. 368. Sale by William Clayton to Richard Wright. (1563.)
- No. 387. Release by the same to the same. (1583.)
- See also *Nantwich*. 110, 168, 169, 177, 189, 190, 194, 208, 251, 252, 254, 257, 258, 260, 278, 279, 280.

HETHALIS-IN-PEOVER.

- No. 24. Grant by Roger Mainwaring to Alan de Greves. (*temp.* H. III.)

- No. 29. Grant by the same to the same. (*temp.* H. III.)
 No. 30. Copy of the same.
 No. 72. Bond from Robert Bryan, rector of Alderley, to William de Peover, to enfeof Alicia, his "nutrita," and John, son of Roger de Hethalis, with all his lands. (1294.)
 No. 74. Grant by John, son of Roger de Hethalis, to Thomas, son of Gregory de Hasselinton. (1303-1305.)
 No. 75. Copy of the same.
 No. 96. Lease by John, son of Adam de Astle, to Thomas de Cepmundwich and Agnes his wife. (1322.)
 No. 103. Grant by Thomas de Cepmundwich to John, son of Adam de Astle and Mathilda his wife. (*temp.* Ed. II.)
 No. 122. Release by Agnes, daughter of William de Greves, to Adam Hyrne of Cepmundwich. (1338.)
 No. 152. Grant by William Fraysel, chaplain, to John, son of Henry Hyrne. (1368.)
 No. 170. Grant by William de Ruyley to Robert de Are, Hugh de Haukesherd, chaplains, and John, son of William Mainwaring. (1391.)
 See also *Cepmundwich*. 100.

HOOLE.

- No. 48. Grant by Ralph Turnemleyn to Simon the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. (1269).
 No. 50. Grant by William, son of Richard de Pulford, to the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1270-1271.)
 No. 56. Grant by Geoffrey, son of Herbert de Hoole, to Hugh, his brother. (*temp.* H. III.-Ed. I.)
 No. 68. Quitclaim by Robert, son of Herbert de Hoole, to Simon the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1284-1288.)

HULME-WALEFIELD.

- No. 469. Plea of session recording the suit of Thomas Delves and others against John Hussey and Thomas Lowe in respect of the Manors of Hulme and Allostock. (1678.)
 No. 470. Fine conveying the said Manors to John Hussey and Thomas Lowe. (1678.)
 See also *Baddiley*. 181.

HULTON (Co. Lanc.). See *Shakerley*. 471, 472.

HUNSTERTON. See *Weston*. 229.

HURLESTON.

- No. 384. Fine from John Egerton and Margaret, his wife, to Thomas Bulkeley. (1576.)
 See also *Nantwich*. 168, 169, 175, 177, 189, 190, 194, 208, 222, 223, 230, 251, 252, 254, 257, 258, 260, 278, 279, 280.

KNUTSFORD.

- No. 23. Lease by William de Huchtrinton, physician, to Richard de Hondford, chapman. (1342.)
- No. 83. Grant by Isabella de Legh to Thomas Fox. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
- No. 99. Lease by Laurence, son of John de Aula, to William, son of William de Tabley. (1326.)
- No. 101. Grant by William, son of William de Tabley, to William Houwel. (*temp.* E. II.)
- No. 102. Grant by the same to Simon de Bentley. (*temp.* Ed. II.)
- No. 123. Grant by Simon de Bentley to William de Bentley, his son. (1340.)
- No. 124. Copy of the same.
- No. 125. Grant by William de Bentley to his father. (1340.)
- No. 132. Indenture between Walter Smith and Nichol, his wife, and Alice, widow of Ralph Smith. (1354.)
- No. 147. Quitclaim by Thomas Fox to William de Rixton. (1363.)
- No. 153. Grant by Roger de Bentley to Hugh, his son. (1368.)
- No. 154. Grant by William Le Braban to Nicholas de Munshall, chaplain. (1370.)
- No. 159. Grant by Peter Blyce, chaplain, to Joan del Brome. (1383.)
- No. 161. Quitclaim by Margery, widow of William Le Braban, to Oliver, their son. (1383.)
- No. 180. Grant by John de Kirkhous to Thomas de Baguiley, Joan, his wife, Edward Sherd and James, his son. (1399.)
- No. 195. Quitclaim by Oliver Le Braban to William, his son. (1406.)
- No. 196. Defeasance of the above quitclaim and the corresponding regrant. (1406.)
- No. 199. Grant by John de Byrkin to John de Lytloc. (1407.)
- No. 226. Fine from William Wilkinson of Withington (Lancs.) and Margery, his wife, to Roger Le Venables, Hugh Mainwaring and Thomas del Hett. (1427.)
- No. 227. Grant by Roger Le Venables, Thomas del Hett and Hugh Bryan to Ranulph Mainwaring. (1427.)
- No. 231. Grant by Richard del Brome to Roger Le Venables, James de Gateliff, Thomas del Hett and Hugh Bryan. (1430.)
- No. 233. Grant by Joan, widow of Richard de Mobburley, to Roger Le Venables, John Blomer and Hugh Bryan. (1431.)
- No. 283. Power of attorney from John de Wreyne of Chester, butcher, to William de Mulynton and Thomas del Mere. (1451.)
- See also *Eaton*. 376; *Goostrey*. 267; *Warford (Great)*. 409.

LANCASTER (County).

- No. 206. Lease by Margaret, widow of John Mainwaring, to John, son of John de Stanley, kn., of all her lands in the county. (1413.)

No. 349. Acquittance for the first payment of a subsidy to the King. (1546.)

See also *Chester (County)*. 316.

LAWTON. See *Baddiley*. 181, 182, 183; *Eaton*. 277.

LEGH OF MIDDLETON (Family).

No. 317. Inquisitio post mortem of Roger Legh, of Middleton. (1506.)

LEIGH.

No. 15. Grant by Richard, son of Henry de Leigh, to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. (1244.)

No. 17. Quitclaim by Richard, son of Gralan de Lostock, to the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1248-1250.)

No. 60. Quitclaim by William, son of Jordan de Stowes, to the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1272-1274.)

LINDSEY (Co. Linc.). See *Dernhall*. 11.

LIMERICK (County).

No. 408. Acquittances to Sir Henry Mainwaring in respect of his accompt as sheriff. (1606.)

MACCLESFIELD. See *Dernhall*. 11.

MAINWARING (Family).

No. 58. Acquittances by William Mainwaring to Roger, son of Roger de Toft, for receipt of 11 marcs in part payment of 33 marcs "in quibus predictus Rogerus et pater ejus, pro maritagio Willelmi filii Rogeri de Maynwaring ad opus margarete de Toft, mihi tenebantur." (1272.)

No. 137. Indenture of covenant whereby Agnes, widow of Richard de Wynyngton, knt., confirms to William Mainwaring the marriage of her son Walter with the latter's daughter Emma. (1357.)

No. 138. Indenture of covenant between Isabel, widow of John de Legh, knt., and William Mainwaring, sen., for the marriage of William, the former's son, with Joan, the latter's daughter. (1359.)

No. 171-172. Will (in duplicate) of William Mainwaring. (1393.)

No. 173. Will of William Mainwaring. (1394.)

No. 203. Marriage covenant between John, son of Ralph de Davenport, and Joan, daughter of Randall Mainwaring. (1411.)

No. 238. Marriage settlement of Piers, son of Geoffrey Warburton, knt., and Elizabeth, daughter of John Mainwaring, knt. (1436.)

No. 240. Quitclaim by Margaret, widow of William de Bromley, to Ranulph Mainwaring, her father, and Hugh Mainwaring, her brother, of all actions against them. (1436.)

No. 274. Covenant for the marriage of William Mainwaring, son of Hankyn Mainwaring, with Elyn, the daughter of Sir John Butler, knt. (1444.)

- No. 298. Inquisitio post mortem of John Mainwaring. (1496.)
- No. 322. General pardon from the King to Ranulph Mainwaring. (1511.)
- No. 325. Covenant for the marriage of Sir Thomas Ashton with Joan Mainwaring. (1512.)
- No. 328. Will of John Mainwaring. (1516.)
- No. 330. Award in a suit between Dame Katherine, the widow of Sir John Mainwaring, and Randolph Mainwaring, the latter's son. (1519.)
- No. 331-332. Marriage settlement of Katherine, daughter of the late Sir John Mainwaring, with William Newton. (1522.)
- No. 341. Acquittance from Geoffrey Shakerley to Randolph Mainwaring for part payment of the consideration money for a marriage between Peter Shakerley and Elizabeth Mainwaring. (1539.)
- No. 345. Will of Sir Randolph Mainwaring. (1543.)
- No. 346. Settlement of Sir Randolph Mainwaring's estate on his brother Philip. (1543.)
- No. 355. Settlement by Sir Randolph Mainwaring of the jointure of his first wife on Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Leycester, his second wife. (1552.)
- No. 359. Inspecimus of a decree of the Court of Wards concerning Sir Randolph Mainwaring. (1557.)
- No. 360. Warrant to make the inquisitio post mortem of Sir Randolph Mainwaring. (1557.)
- No. 362. Inquisitio post mortem of Sir Randolph Mainwaring. (1558.)
- No. 363. Marriage settlement of Philip Mainwaring, Esq., and Ann, daughter of Sir Ralph Leycester. (1554.)
- No. 364. General pardon from Queen Elizabeth to Philip Mainwaring. (1559.)
- No. 374. Marriage settlement of Randolph, son of Philip Mainwaring, and Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Fiton. (1567.)
- No. 381. Inquisitio post mortem of Philip Mainwaring, Esq. (1574.)
- No. 383. Deed of livery to Randolph Mainwaring of the lands, etc., of his father Philip. (1577.)
- No. 390. "A particular of such castells, houses, etc., as are allocated unto Edmond Mainwaring. . . ." (1587.)
- No. 392. Bond between Richard Mainwaring and William Austin to observe covenants. (1595.)
- No. 393. Bond between George Mainwaring and Edward Minshull to observe covenants. (1596.)
- No. 396. Quitclaim by George Mainwaring to Edward, Thomas and Raymond Minshull, of all actions, etc. (1597.)
- No. 399. Settlement for the marriage of Sir Randall Mainwaring with Katherine, widow of Sir William Brereton. (1603.)

- No. 403. Deed to settle the jointure of dame Jane, wife of Sir Randle Mainwaring. (1604.)
- No. 407. Acquittances to Sir Randle Mainwaring for payment to the King's Treasurer. (1610.)
- No. 416. Inquisitio post mortem of Sir Randle Mainwaring, knt. (1620.)
- No. 417. Deed of livery to Sir Randle Mainwaring of his father's lands. (1620.)
- No. 418. Deed to settle the jointure of Ellen Minshull, wife to Philip Mainwaring. (1623.)
- No. 434. Writ to Philip Mainwaring to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer. (1642.)
- No. 435. Articles of agreement between Ellen, the widow of Philip Mainwaring, and Thomas, her son. (1647.)
- No. 436. Release by the same Ellen to her son of all she received under her late husband's will. (1648.)
- No. 456. Writ for the apprehension of Philip Mainwaring. (1642.)
- No. 477. Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse for John Mainwaring. (1688.)
- No. 481-482. Sale by Sir Thomas Mainwaring to Henry Mainwaring of the library and furniture of Peover Hall. (1713.)
- No. 484. Marriage articles of Henry Mainwaring and Diana Blackett. (1725.)
- No. 485-486. Will of Henry Mainwaring. (1726.)

MARTHALL. See *Warford (Great)*. 366, 367.

NANTWICH.

- No. 110. Grant by Cardugan de Crouton to John de Wettenhall of lands in N. and Henhull. (1331.)
- No. 117. Quitclaim by the same to the same. (1336.)
- No. 140. Grant by Matthew de Fouleshurst to John de Wettenhall. (1360.)
- No. 142. Grant by John de Wettenhall to Ralph de Bechton, rector of Woodchurch, and William de Blackene, chaplain, of his portion of the barony of N. and the lordship of Davenham. (1361.)
- No. 143. Grant by Matthew de Fouleshurst to Thomas, son of John de Wettenhall. (1361.)
- No. 158. Grant by Henry Le Fissher to William, son of Richard de Wettenhall. (1378.)
- No. 168. Grant by Robert Sleght, knt., to Walter Sleght, son of Robert Sleght, knt., Henry Sleght, son of John Sleght, knt., Gilbert Wilock and others of lands in N., Hurleston, Coole, Henhull, Sparrowgreve and Sidnal. (1389.)
- No. 169. Power of attorney to Ralph de Wettenhall to take seisin. (1389.)

- No. 175. Grant by Robert Sleght, knt., to Ralph, son of Peter de Wettenhall, of lands in N., Coole, Sparrowgreve, and Hurleston. (1395.)
- No. 177. Quitclaim by Robert Sleght, knt., and Agnes, his wife, to Ralph de Wettenhall, of lands in N., Henhull, Hurleston, Coole, Sidnal and Sparrowgreve. (1397.)
- No. 188. Lease by Ralph de Wettenhall to John de Kingsley. (1400.)
- No. 189. Grant by Agnes, widow of Robert Sleght, to Ralph de Wettenhall, of lands in N., Hurleston, Coole, Henhull, and Pygrene near Sparrowgreve. (1404.)
- No. 190. Power of attorney to Richard Alna and William Bret to deliver seisin. (1404.)
- No. 194. Conveyance of the said lands. (1405.)
- No. 198. Grant by Margaret, widow of John Wyard, to Ralph de Wettenhall. (1407.)
- No. 202. Lease by John, son of Richard de Bromley, to Robert, son of Hugh Le Mercer. (1409.)
- No. 208. Quitclaim by William de Brereton, knt., John, son and heir of William de Manley, William de Mascy, and James del Holte, to William Erle, chaplain, of lands in N., Christleton, Warmincham, Rushton, Coole, Hurleston, and Henhull. (1418.)
- No. 209. Power of attorney from Ellen, widow of Matthew del Mere, to Robert de Wymington and Thomas Dawkinson, sen., to receive seisin of two saltpits in N., and 20s. rent from her mill of Dernhall. (1419.)
- No. 213-214. Fine (and counterpart) from John de Lytherlond and Alice, his wife, to Ralph Mainwaring, of lands in N., Withington, Gatford, and Dernhall. (1420.)
- No. 216-217. Grant and surrender by Ellen, the widow of Matthew del Mere, to Hugh Le Mon, chaplain. (1420.)
- No. 218. Power of attorney to John Blomer and John Janny to give seisin. (1420.)
- No. 219. Quitclaim by Agnes, the widow of John Sleght, knt., to Ralph de Wettenhall, of all her lands in Nantwich and elsewhere in the county of Chester. (1420.)
- No. 222-223. Grant by William Erle, chaplain, to Robert Maderer and William Paradys, of lands in N., Christleton, Warmincham, Rushton, Coole and Hurleston—and power of attorney to John, son of Ralph de Wettenhall, to deliver seisin. (1424.)
- No. 228. Grant by John Waleys to Thomas Wettenhall. (1428.)
- No. 230. Grant by Robert Maderer and William Paradys to Ralph de Wettenhall. (1429.)
- No. 251-252. Grant and Quitclaim by Ralph de Wettenhall to William Paradys and Peter Kynkevale, of lands in Nantwich, Henhull,

Hurleston, Church Copenhall, Pygrene by Sparrowgreve in the parish of Warmincham, Rushton and Christleton. (1437.)

- No. 254. Grant by William Paradys and Robert Kynkevale to Ellen, the widow of Ralph de Wettenhall, of lands in Nantwich, Henhull, Hurleston and Rushton by Yeaveley. (1438.)
- No. 255-256. Fine (and counterpart) from John de Lecke and Mathilda, his wife, to Ralph Mainwaring. (1439.)
- No. 257-258. Quitclaim with power for livery of seisin by Ellen, the widow of Ralph de Wettenhall, to John de Wettenhall. (1440.)
- No. 260. Lease by John de Wettenhall to the said Ellen, of lands in Nantwich, Henhull, Hurleston and Rushton. (1440.)
- No. 278. Grant by John de Wettenhall to Richard Keffe and William Paradys, of lands in Nantwich, Coole, Henhull, Hurleston, Yanley and Christleton. (1445.)
- No. 279-280. Grant and power for livery of seisin by Richard Keffe and William Paradys, to John de Wettenhall and Alicia, his wife, of the above lands. (1446.)
- No. 281. Grant by Richard Bolde and John de Wettenhall to William Le Shermon. (1447.)
- No. 282. Grant by Richard Waleys to John, son of Thomas de Wettenhall. (1447.)
- No. 290. Grant by Richard Waleys to Thomas, son of Richard Le Tailloure. (1472.)
- No. 291. Lease by John Bromley and John Nedham to Oliver Marler. (1474.)
- No. 292. Grant by John Mainwaring to Roger Mainwaring. (1477.)
- No. 295. Grant by John Waleys to Thomas, son of Thomas de Wettenhall. (1490.)
- No. 296. Quitclaim by Richard Ince to Ellen, his daughter. (1491.)
- No. 321. Sale by John Dode to John Mainwaring. (1511.)
- No. 324. Appointment of John Mainwaring to be Seneschal of the town. (1512.)
- No. 358. Power of attorney from William Asten to Roger Harrison to receive seisin of lands. (1553.)
- No. 365. Sale by Robert Fulleshurst to Thomas Clutton. (1561.)
- No. 372. Fine from William Clayton to Hugh Cholmondeley, knt., Thomas Clutton and Richard Wright. (1563.)
- No. 373. Sale by Juliana Lewes to Richard Wright. (1567.)
- No. 379. Sale by Rowland Barker to Richard Wright. (1570.)
- No. 419. Fine from William Hassal to Hugh, his son. (1623.)
- No. 420. Fine from Thomas Clutton, Edward Church and others to Richard Minshull, Thomas Burrough and John Beckett. (1624.)
- No. 439. Map of Ridley Field.

No. 458. Fine from Ralph and Daniel Poole and William Wirth, to William Kelsall and Edward Hankey. (1668.)

See also *Badailev.* 402; *Eaton.* 376; *Peover.* 275; *Walgherton.* 204; *Worleston.* 426.

NEWHALL-IN-ACTON. See *Peover.* 275.

OLDCASTLE. See *Overton.* 474.

OVERCHURCH. See *Upton-in-Wirral.*

OVERTON-IN-MALPAS.

No. 474. Fine from Robert Allport to Thomas Delves, of the Manors of Overton and Oldcastle. (1681.)

PEOVER or OVER PEOVER.

No. 12. Grant by Roger Mainwaring to the Abbey of Deulacresse. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 26. Grant by William Mainwaring to Hugh de Stokys. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 27. Grant by William Mainwaring to Thomas, his son. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 28. Quitclaim by Mathilda, the widow of Richard Mainwaring, to William de Glasebrook. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 32. Grant by Robert, son of Robert, of Peover, to John, son of Nicholas, of Peover. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 33. Grant by the same to the same. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 34. Quitclaim by Richard, son of Adam, of Peover, to William Mainwaring. (*temp.* H. III.)

No. 67. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of William Mainwaring, to William, his brother. (1284-1288.)

No. 69. Quitclaim by Emma, daughter of Robert, son of Simian, to William Mainwaring. (1284-1288.)

No. 76. Grant by John, son of Roger de Hethalis, to Richard Hyrne. (1303-1305.)

No. 80. Grant by Christiana, widow of John Biran, to Mary, daughter of Henry de Davenport, and her heirs begotten by William Mainwaring. (*temp.* Ed. I.)

No. 86. Grant by William de Mobburley to John of Peover. (*temp.* Ed. I.)

No. 97. Grant by Richard Hyrne to Adam, his son. (1324.)

No. 98. Grant by Nicholas, son of John of Peover, to William, son of Warin of Tunstall and Margery, his daughter. (1326.)

No. 104. Grant by John, son of Roger de Hethalis, to Richard Hyrne. (*temp.* Ed. II.)

No. 108. Grant by William Mainwaring, Lord of Peover, to William Mainwaring, his uncle, Adam, son of William de Glasebrook and Ellen, his wife. (*temp.* Ed. III.)

- No. 114. Fine from William, son of Roger Mainwaring, to Roger, son of William Mainwaring. (1334.)
- No. 115. Grant by John Hyrne, chaplain, to William, son of Benedict Mainwaring, and Margery, his wife. (1335.)
- No. 120. Grant by William de Glasebrook, sen., to William del Ewode, chaplain. (1337.)
- No. 126. Grant by William, son of William Mainwaring, to William, son of Roger Mainwaring. (1340.)
- No. 127. Grant by the same to Adam, son of William de Glasebrook, and Ellen, his wife. (1341.)
- No. 128. Indenture of covenant between William de Glasebrook and Alice, his wife, and William, their son, and Agnes, his wife. (1341.)
- No. 129. Precipe from Prince Edward (the Black Prince) to the sheriff of Chester for the restoration of some lands by Alice, daughter of William Le Vernoun, to William, son of William, son of Roger Mainwaring. (1343-1362.)
- No. 136. Grant by William de Mottelowe and John Spendlove, chaplain, to Elizabeth, the widow of William Mainwaring. (1356.)
- No. 139. Grant by William Mainwaring, sen., to Joan, daughter of Roger Mainwaring, his aunt, and Millicent, his sister. (1360.)
- No. 148. Settlement by William de Mottelowe and John Spendlove, on Elizabeth, wife of William Mainwaring and her son William. (1364.) [copy.]
- [On the back.] Grant by Roger, son of Ralph Mainwaring, to William, his son. [copy.]
- No. 149. Settlement by John Spendlove and John del Mere, on Elizabeth, wife of William Mainwaring, and William, her son. (1365.)
- No. 150. Quitclaim by Mathilda, widow of Adam, son of William de Glasebrook, to Elizabeth de Leicester, widow of William Mainwaring. (1366.)
- No. 160. Extract from the plea-roll recording the suit John de Mobburley and Agnes, his wife v. Richard de Chorley. (1383.)
- No. 166. Quitclaim by Richard Pinchest to Ralph, son of William Mainwaring. (1387.)
- No. 184. Lease by Elizabeth, the widow of William Mainwaring, to John of Snelson. (1400.)
- No. 212. Grant by Robert de Wymindon and Hugh Brayne to Ralph, son of William Mainwaring. (1419.)
- No. 275. Covenant between Ralph Mainwaring and Margery, his wife, and John, their son, concerning lands in Peover, Baddiley, Newhall, Aston, Fouleshurst, Nantwich and Chester. (1444.)
- No. 300. Grant by Roger and Thomas Meyre to Oliver Hurlebet. (1501.)

- No. 304. Assignment by Robert Meere to Thomas, son of Nicholas Mainwaring. (1502.)
- No. 335. Grant by Roger Knutsford and others to Ralph Mainwaring and Elizabeth, his wife. (1527.)
- No. 336. Grant by Ralph Mainwaring to John Alen and Humphrey Baskerville, of lands in Peover and Baddiley. (1530.)
- No. 340. Lease by John Leicester, prior of Laund (Co. Leicester), to Sir Randall Mainwaring. (1536.)
- No. 386. Covenant by George, son and heir of Sir Arthur Mainwaring, of Ightfield (Co. Salop), Katherine Davenport and others to levy a fine to Sir Randle Mainwaring, of the Manors of Peover and Baddiley. (1580.)
- No. 388. Fine from Sir Randle Mainwaring and Margaret, his wife, to Charles and Edmond Mainwaring and others, of the Manors of Peover and Baddiley. (1585.)
- No. 398. Lease by Sir Randle Mainwaring to Edmond Deane. (1601.)
- No. 401. Grant by Sir Randle Mainwaring and Randle, his son, to Thomas Norbury. (1603.)
- No. 424. "An extract of all singular fynes, issues . . . presented at the Court Leete and Court Baron of Philip Mainwaring, Esq., for his Manor of Over Peover." (1634.)
- No. 437. Fine from Thomas Mainwaring, Esq., to Henry Delves and Henry Birkenhead, of lands in Peover, Baddiley and Withington. (1648.)
- No. 468. Lease by Sir Thomas Mainwaring to William Thorley. (1678.)
- See also *Cepmundwich, Fodon, Hethalis, Twyford*.

PEOVER (Church).

- No. 353. Valor of the rents or farm of lands given in alms for the stipend of the priest officiating at the Chantry in the Church of Over Peover. (1548.)
- No. 473. Faculty from the Bishop of Chester to the Chapel Wardens for the removal of the pulpit. (1679.)

PLUMLEY

- No. 53. Grant by Thomas Smith [*Faber*] and William, his son, to Simon the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. (1272.)
- No. 55. Grant by Richard de Sadlehurst and Lettice, his wife, to the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1272.)
- No. 61-62. Fine from Agnes, daughter of Walthew de Plumley, to Thomas Smith, of Plumley and the Abbey of St. Werburgh. (1273.)
- See also *Eaton*. 376.

POULTON-IN-WIRRALL, See *Baddiley*. 181; *Eaton*. 277, 376.

ROTTELEY (Co. Warwick).

- No. 207. Power of Attorney from Margaret, widow of John Mainwaring, to Hugh Mainwaring and Thomas Dawkinson, to receive rents from her Manor of Rotteley and in the town of Banbury (Co. Oxford). (1414.)

RUSHTON

- No. 94. Grant by William de Antrobus to Nicholas, son of John de Wettenhall. (1317.)
No. 131. Release by Reginald de Grey and Alienora, his wife, to Nicholas de Wettenhall. (1353.)
See also *Nantwich*. 208, 222, 223, 230, 251, 252, 254, 257, 258, 260.

SHAKERLEY (Co. Lanc.).

- No. 471. Plea of session recording the suit Thomas Delves and others v. John Hussey and Thomas Lowe, for lands in Shakerley, Hulton, Tildesley and Farnworth. (1678.)

- No. 472. Fine from Thomas Delves and others to the same. (1678.)

SIDDINGTON. See *Cheadle*. 225, 226.SIDNAL. See *Nantwich*. 168, 169, 177.

SNELSON.

- No. 40. Grant by William, son of William de Snelson, to Ralph, his son. (*temp.* H. III.)
No. 88. Grant by Ralph de Snelson to Henry, son of Richard de Bircheley. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
No. 89. Quitclaim by William de Snelson to Adam, his son. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
No. 121. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of Richard Le Taillieur of Mobburley to William, son of William, son of Ralph de Snelson. (1338.)
See also *Chelford*. 54.

SOUND. See *Fouleshurst*. 285.SPARROWGREVE. See *Nantwich*. 168, 169, 175, 177.

STAFFORD (Co. Staff.).

- No. 448. Fine from William Dorington to Edward Horsman, George Maslyn and Thomas Yonge. (1659.)
No. 460. Feoffment by James Greene to John Wilkes. (1669.)
No. 461. Feoffment by John Wilkes to William Dicken. (1669.)
No. 478. Fine from Edward Wittenhall to Ralph Sneyd. (1694.)

STANTHORNE. See *Walgheorton*. 204.

STOKE.

- No. 192. Grant by Isabel, widow of William de Beston, to John Blomer and William Aspy, of lands in Stoke, Coddington, Churton, Barton, Farndon, Aldford, Aldersey, Hauley, Burwardsley, Carden, Clotton and Coddington. (1404.)
See also *Baddiley*. 181, 182; *Eaton*. 376.

STOKE HOLY CROSS.

No. 487. Fine from Edward Wettenhall to Anthony Cope. (1744.)

STONELEY. See *Baddiley*. 181, 182.

TABLEY.

No. 4. Grant by Roger Mainwaring to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. (*temp.* H. II.)

TESSY (Manche, France.) See *Dernhall*. 11.

TIVERTON.

No. 167. Fine from Matthew del Mere and Ellen his wife to Henry Danell. (1389.)

No. 303. Bond from William, Thomas and Robert Davenport and Roger Donnes to John Mainwaring. (1500.)

See also *Dernhall*. 11.

TILDESLEY. See *Shakerley*. 471, 472.

TILSTOCK (Co. Salop). See *Doddington*. 475.

TRANMERE.

No. 8. Grant by Richard the Welshman [*Walensis*] to Richard Stark. (late XIIIth cent.)

TWYFORD-IN-PEOVER.

No. 66. Grant by Roger de Vernon to William, his son. (1279-1280.)

No. 111. Attornment by William de Glasebrook and Alice, his wife, to John Huyrne. (1332.)

No. 112. Grant by John Huyrne to Alice, daughter of William de Vernon. (1332.)

No. 113. Grant by the said Alice to the said John Huyrne. (1332.)

No. 144. Lease by the said Alice to Richard, her son. (1362.)

No. 145. Release of the same. (1362.)

No. 268-270. Grant, quitclaim and power of attorney to deliver seisin, by Henry de Mosley to William de Tabley, John Blomer, Richard Haydok and John Bourges. (1442.)

UPTON-IN-WIRRAL or OVERCHURCH.

No. 109. Fine from Richard de Capenhurst and Margery, his wife, to William de Praers. (1328.)

See also *Baddiley*. 182; *Eaton*. 277.

UPTON (Co. Warwick). See *Banbury*. 176.

VALE ROYAL ABBEY. See *Dernhall*. 338.

WALGHERTON.

No. 204. Grant by Nicholas Bradshaw, Thomas Thiknes, Henry Rawnecroft and John Bertrem, to Margaret, wife of John Mainwaring, of lands in Walgherton, Hatherton, Stanhurl and Nantwich. (1412.)

WARFORD (Great).

- No. 84. Grant by Ralph Mainwaring to Adam de Smalbrook. (*temp.* Ed. I.)
- No. 92A. Grant by Ralph, son of Laurence Mainwaring, to Aline, daughter of Edmond Fytton. (1311.) [copy.]
- No. 92B. Grant by Aline Fytton to William, son of Robert de Vernon and Joyce, her daughter. (1311.) [copy.]
- No. 130. Quitclaim by Roger de Vernon to Roger de Vernon, his father, and Sibil, his wife, of lands in Warford and Guilden Sutton. (1347.)
- No. 334. Precipe by the Sheriff to Roger Legh to restore lands to Richard Symynton. (1526.)
- No. 366-367. Fine (and counterpart) from Gibert Legh to Robert Brooke and Richard Broster of lands in Warford and Marthall. (1562.)
- No. 389. Fine from Peter Warburton and Ralph Brereton to Ralph Egerton and William Wynnnynton. (1593.)
- No. 409. Fine from Thomas Antrobus to Thomas Coulthurst in Warford, Knutsford and Alderley. (1615.)

WARFORD (Little).

- No. 9. Grant by Robert de Vernim to Richard, the son of William, son of Scainl. (late XIIIth cent.)
- No. 299. Quitclaim by Gilbert Lee to Roger, his son. (1500.)
- No. 301-302. Grant and power to receive seisin by Roger Lee to Robert Scargill and others. (1500.)
- No. 305-315. Grants and powers to receive seisin by Roger and Margaret Legh, Isabel Hollond, Margaret Gargrave and Katherine Scott. (1504.)

WARMINCHAM. See *Nantwich*. 189, 190, 194, 208, 222, 223, 230, 251, 252.

WARSON (Little) (?)

- No. 356. Lease by Gilbert Legh, Esq., to George and Randall Grastre. (1553.)

WAVERTON.

- No. 3. Grant by Roger de Rollus to Agnes, his sister. (*temp.* H. II.)
- No. 16. Grant by William, son of Robert de Tabley, to William, son of Gilbert de Blackburn. (1248.)
- No. 35. Grant by Robert de Tabley to William de Riston. (*temp.* H. III.)
- No. 37. Grant by Hugh de Tiwe to Robert de Tabley. (*temp.* H. III.)
- No. 42. Grant by Hugh de Tiwe to Hugh de Merton. (*temp.* H. III.)

- No. 49. Lease by Alice, daughter of Hugh de Tiwe, to Hugh, son of Ralph de Merton. (1270.) [copy.]
- No. 52. Fine from Hugh de Pulford to William Lanselin and Emma, his wife. (1272.)
- No. 90. Grant by Hugh Le Tyn to Hugh, son of Ralph, son of Hugh de Merton and Alice, his wife. (1307-1316)—and copy of the same (No. 91).
- No. 95. Quitclaim by Ralph de Vernon, sen., knt., to Hugh, son of Ralph de Merton and Alice, his wife. (1311.)
- No. 105. Grant by William, son of William de Leythe, to Robert de Pulford. (*temp.* Ed. II.)
- No. 408. Quitclaim by Thomas Holcroft to Edward Minshull. (1612.)
See also *Clive*. 394, 395.

WEAVER.

- No. 156. Grant by David de Hulgrave to William de Praers. (1373.)

WESTON-IN-WYBUNBURY

- No. 229. Grant by John Delves, sen., to Thomas Hunt, sen., of lands in Weston, Blackenhall, Godwinsley, Hunsterton and Hatherton. (1429.) [copy.]

WETTENHALL OF NANTWICH (Family).

- No. 250. Will of Ralph Wettenhall. (1437.)
- No. 400. Will of Gabriel Wettenhall. (1601.)

WHARTON.

- No. 200. Grant by Katherine, the widow of William Dove, to William Le Farrour. (1408.)
- No. 201. Regrant of the same. (1408.)
- No. 220. Release by Katherine Worsley to Robert, son of John Donne. (1421.)
- No. 241-245. Grant, quitclaim and power (in duplicate) for livery of seisin by Thomas Vernon, alias Thomas Clerk, of Leicester, to John Blomer, Henry Willeboy, Thomas Hett and Roger Fyton. (1437.)
- No. 247-249. Grant, quitclaim and power for livery of seisin by Richard Le Ayre to the same grantees. (1437.)
- No. 253. Award of William Massy of Rixton in a dispute between Hendekyn Mainwaring, Esq., and Christopher of Hatherton. (1438.)
- No. 261-263. Lease, release and power for livery of seisin by Robert Donne to John Blomer and Roger Fyton. (1441.)
- No. 271. Quitclaim by Henry Willeboy to John Blomer and Roger Fyton. (1443.)
- No. 326. Lease by Sir John Mainwaring of Ightfield to John Dever. (1514.)
See also *Clive*. 178.

WINSFORD.

- No. 43-44. Grant (and copy) by Hugh de Tiwe to Hugh de Merton.
(*temp.* H. III.)

WISTANTON.

- No. 191. Lease by Roger del Malpas to John Le Brescy. (1404.)

WITHINGTON.

- No. 163. Fine from Matthew del Mere and Elen, his wife, to Roger Gille, in Withington and Gatford. (1386.)
No. 205. Memorandum that the same are bound to the same in respect of lands in Withington, Dukenfield and Gatford. (*temp.* H. IV.)
No. 215. Fine from John de Lytherlond and Alice, his wife, and Robert de Davenport, to Henry de Falghes, of lands in Withington and Gatford. (1420.)
No. 276. Grant by John Burges to Ranulph Mainwaring and Margery, his wife. (1444.)
No. 297. Covenant between John Mainwaring and Dame Maud, his mother, in the matter of lands in Withington and Baddiley. (1494.)
No. 347. Grant by Eleonor, the widow of John Baskervyl, to Sir Randolph Mainwaring of the stewardship of all her tenants in Withington and Chelford. (1544.)
No. 441. Feoffment by Francis Hall to John Deane. (1650.)
See also *Dernhall*. 11, 338; *Eaton*. 376; *Nantwich*. 213, 214; *Peover*. 437.

WOLSTANWOOD. See *Alstanton*. 211.

WORLESTON.

- No. 369. Sale by William Clayton to Richard Wright. (1563.)
No. 370. Sale by the same to the same. (1564.)
No. 375. Sale by William Clayton to John Breyne. (1569.)
No. 426. Fine from Thomas Wilbraham and Hugh Hassal to William Richardson in Worleston and Nantwich. (1630.)
No. 445. Fine from Thomas Blagg and Elizabeth, his wife, to William Meakin and John Deaires. (1657.)
No. 480. Fine from Josuah Richardson and Abigail, his wife, to John Thomason and Joseph Jellicoe. (1707.)
See also *Fouleshurst*. 285.

YANLEY (?)

- No. 157. Grant by William Waryng to David de Clattford and Agnes, his wife. (1378.)
See also *Nantwich*. 278, 279, 280.

